574 /118 cont./
628 on the morning of departure, return to their own village. In contrast to this hastily accomplished visiting by small groups or even individuals, there is the migration of whole villages. During the
796) great palm-fruit festival, which takes place in February and of which I shall show you a film in a few days, the villages visit each other, which is often done in such a way that the two villages celebrate first in the settlement of the one and the other. The various above-mentioned purposes of this intervillage intercourse
[184] are naturally combined in practice. The trading and visiting trips are responsible for the remarkable cultural unity of the Waika region, and the consciousness of this in the minds of the inhabitants.
574 On the other hand, in many cases they are the occasion and op-
721 portunity for quarrels and warfare; refusal to trade and refusal of
628 a girl lead at least to ill feeling, and, as was reported to us, neutral villages are sometimes invited to the palm-fruit festival solely for the purpose of attacking the men at a favorable moment in order to kill them and keep the women as booty. The language has a special word for this type of hostile act, and the procedure was described to us in detail, so there can be no doubt about its occasional occurrence.

628 In summary, the following may be said about the intervillage
182 relations presented in brief form. The balance between the two tendencies, the binding one and the separative one, both of which -- probably in correspondence to each other -- are expressed in remarkably vivid form, stamps the picture of the political organization in Waika country. The separative forces, in that they protect the detachment of the villages, prevent the formation of alliances on a wider scale, which could lead to political ascendancy, to regional groupings, to divisions -- in any case to a political unit extending beyond the village. Thus, in a cultural sense, these separative forces act indirectly in the same direction as the binding ones: both promote and maintain cultural homogeneity in a large territory. For since the individual villages are too weak to detach themselves from the leveling tensions /Verspannung/ with their neighbors, but, on the other hand, lasting, stable alliances cannot be achieved, political and cultural divisions

/11 cont./

342 114 184

Exactly the same construction is shown by Salathé for the Karimé (49), Zerries for the Waiká (50), and Koch-Grünberg for

49. Salathé, 1931/32, pp. 298-300 and Fig. 1 and 2.

50. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

the Xiriána (Schirianá) on the upper Uraricapará; the latter, however, calls the lean-to type of hut a storm-shelter /Wetterschirm/ (51). This name is not suitable, however, for a

51. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 300 and Pl. 43 b and c.

genuine storm-shelter, also called windscreen, touches the ground on one side. In the method of construction described and likewise in Koch-Grünberg's drawings, however, the roof rests on supports everywhere. The circular arrangement of the huts is also mentioned in Koch-Grünberg. In this connection the scholar expresses the opinion that this is only a temporary camp (52), which I am

361 114

52. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 300 and Plate 43 a.

now able to confirm with respect to the Surára and Pakidái. On the other hand, Koch-Grünberg, Salathé, and Zerries say nothing about a hut standing in the center. Among the Surára and Pakidái, however, this is never absent. The reason for it, these Indians told me, was to protect the chief sleeping in it from hostile attacks. Moreover, two warriors must always guard the camp at night.

[622]

361 Along the routes of travel of the Surára and Pakidái in the area between the Demini and Aracá rivers, one finds many such abandoned camps. They are never occupied a second time as overnight quarters, however, although the construction is often

/15/

342
184 As a third house-form, on the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Aracá I became acquainted with a closed, circular maloka ten meters high with a gable roof. The Surára told me that this type of construction is customary among the Xirišana. Up to now, however, there has been no description of it.

361
313 The construction, as in the case of the open maloka, is carried out by all the men of the tribe, under the direction of the chief, as communal work. I had the good fortune to be present at this construction in all its phases. First, a section of the forest, upon which the maloka is to be erected, is cleared. The men start by cutting down the small trees and bushes and pulling out the roots. Then they proceed to fell the large trees. Before two men with their axes set to work on a tree, however, one man climbs it and fastens a very long liana just under the crown. When the tree is then notched so far that it threatens to fall, three or four men pull it down to the ground by means of the liana and, as the tree falls, quickly leap to one side. When all the trees are cut, the roots are dug out with the help of the terçados (large bush-knives) and the hands. Meanwhile other men pull out the underbrush on the ground. During the next two or three days, trees are cut in the virgin forest to serve as building material. After that the chief, assisted by two or three men,
342 marks off a circular area by means of a liana. Then the building starts, and, after only eight days, presents the following completed construction: On either side of three center posts ten meters high, which constitute the ridge, four posts eight meters high stand in a semicircle. At a greater distance from these posts 21 small stakes, each five meters high, are driven into the ground in a semicircle around the posts mentioned. The tall posts, as well as the medium-sized and small ones, are joined by means of two cross-strips at the upper ends and two meters below this. Moreover, numerous horizontal rods are fastened to the cross-strips of the 21 outer posts, by means of which the house wall is formed. Sixty-nine horizontal poles, which are supposed to support the frame of the roof, run from the upper cross-strips of the small posts, over those of the middle posts, which serve as supports, to those of the

/16 cont./

342 In the building method described by me, however, the
174 circular ground-plan is retained, in spite of the three center posts.
177 According to Koch-Grünberg, the gable roofs and huts with elliptical
ground-plan and others of a square shape owe "their origin obvi-
[114] ously to European influence" (57). On this point I am in com-

57. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 22.

plete agreement with the above-mentioned investigator and therefore believe that this maloka built by the Surára, which they modeled after the community house of the Xiriána, actually developed from the Karaiben conical-roofed hut, while the roof represents a borrowing from the civilized world (palm-straw huts of the caboclos). This is also indicated by the construction of the chief's hut within the periphery of the large, open maloka,
●[184] which likewise has a gable roof (see p. 29). It is noteworthy, however, that the maloka of the Surára has a height of ten meters, while the round huts mentioned by Koch-Grünberg show
342 a height between 4.20-5.57 meters (58). My question as to why
825

58. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 21.

the Surára in the sierra occupy an open maloka and on the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Aracá a closed one was answered to the effect that in the higher, cooler region between Demini and Aracá there are practically no mosquitoes, whereas there are relatively many along the riverbank of the Aracá. This explanation is very plausible, for in the closed community-houses of the Indians there are no gnats. They avoid the semidarkness and the smoke of the constantly burning fire.

2. Bridges

501 Boats are not used by the Surára and Pakidái. When, on
484 their narrow forest paths which are scarcely discernible to our
491 eyes, they come to brooks, they simply wade across. In the case of wider brooks which are greatly swollen during the rainy

/17/

491 499 184

These bridges are nothing new, for they were already mentioned in similar form by Alexander von Humboldt from the Raudal de Guaharibos (60). An absolutely classic description of

60. A. von Humboldt, 1860, IV, pp. 111, 112, 119.

this method of construction observed among the Guaharibo is given by Chaffanjon: "Finally, toward half-past four in the evening we discover a sort of lake with a rayol, at the end of which some branches, regularly placed across the stream, attract our attention; planted between crevices in the rocks, they form a foot-bridge. For constructions of this type, the Indians wait until the river is very low. They look for branches or young trunks of single growth, such as are often encountered in the forest. The thickness varies from 12 to 15 centimeters in diameter, the length differs according to the depth of the water. The posts which we examine do not exceed four meters in length; they are, like all the branches, either broken off or burned; none bears any trace of ax or knife. The supports in an X, set at intervals, have their forks joined by cross-pieces both at the lower part and at the upper part. The whole is firmly fastened with very resistant lianas. In order to make the supports planted in the crevices or between the rocks more secure, they are tied to trees along the bank, which gives them the appearance of a hanging bridge. The Indians walk along the two lower cross-pieces and use the upper one as a handrail" /translated from the French/ (61). Such bridges

491 184 171

61. Chaffanjon, 1889, p. 311 and illustration, p. 309.

are further documented by Koch-Grünberg for the Taulipáng (62)

62. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 78 and Ill. 6.

and by Zerries for the Waiká (63).

63. Zerries, 1954b, p. 73.

Surára
Pukidai
Shiriana
Samatari

/17 cont./

411 barter. For smoothing, they use the inner edge of the eye-tooth
412 from the lower jaw of a wild pig and the rough leaves of the
322 curatella (Cecropia peltata), which gives the bow a beautiful,
137 shiny appearance.
824 The bowstring -- penahitšbe --, which consists of three
411 strands of curauá (Bromeliaceae) fiber strings twisted to the right,
283 is fastened to the bow ends with a simple knot. If one wants to tighten up the bow, the string must be twisted more, which makes it shorter.

411 The bow described may be immediately classified as one of
191 the typical bow-forms of Guiana, which Métraux characterizes as
114 follows: "Guiana bows were generally convex on the belly while the back or outer surface was concave or flat" /cited in English/ (66).

66. Métraux, 1949, p. 232.

According to Meyer's classification, on account of its semi-circular cross-section, it would /18/ belong to the North Brazilian bow-type; on the basis of the material, however, to the Peru group, because it is not the reddish-brown, smooth leguminous wood, but that of the pupunha palm (67). P. Schmidt also

67. Meyer, no date, p. [illegible]

devotes a rather long section to this "reverse form of the flat bow" and already lists the following tribes north of the Amazonas where it occurs: "Kanamare on the Rio Jurua, Trio, Ojana, Makusi, Wapisiana, Uaupe, Porokoto, Passe (child's bow), Siriana on the Rio /Fig. 2 appears here./ /19/ Uraricapara,
411 Motomoto" (68). On the basis of the descriptions and illustra-
●184
114

68. P. Schmidt, 1913, p. 1030.

tions of the Xirišna bow which Koch-Grünberg gives (69), it is

69. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 311 and Pl. 47 (1 and 2a, b, c, d).

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 39]

Surára, Pakidái, Shiriana, Xamatari

/19 cont./

411 184 114 [173]

almost identical with that of the Surára and Pakidái, except for the fact that the former is set off at the ends. This confirms the statements made by the Indians investigated by me who said that they obtained bows of this kind and the knowledge of how to make them themselves from the Xiriána. In reply to my question as to why their bows were not set off at the end, I was told that the Xiriána demand this deviation. In the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte /Museum for Ethnology and Prehistory/, there are two Xiriána bows which were collected by Koch-Grünberg (12.25:29, 12.25:31). They are relatively small specimens, however, for they are only 1.92 and 1.82 meters high, respectively. A bow which came from the Xamatári of the Rio Maiá, a left tributary of the Rio Cauaboris, and which is also in the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte (Boeldecke Collection, 56.15:4) and is two meters high, has exactly the same shape as the Surára and Pakidái one, that is, without the offset ends. This is not surprising, for, according to the statement of the Surára chief Hewemão, the Xamatári are likewise satellites of the Xiriána (see p. 12). Finally, it should be mentioned that the same bow-form has also been documented for the Waiká in Venezuela (70).

70. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

411 249 824

The arrows -- xeréka --, whose total length comes to between 2-2.12 meters (shaft length 1.89-1.94 meters; weight, 60-90 grams) (71) (72), are made out of arrow cane -- xerekaîbe --

[114]

71. These measurements confirm Weule's statement when he says that the arrow must correspond in length, shape, and weight to the bow, in order to guarantee a certain accuracy of aim (Weule, 1899, p. 6).

72. Pertinent comparisons with other South American tribes are to be found in the chart by Ranke (Ranke, 1903, p. 347).

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
Samatari

/19 cont./

411 which the Surára and Pakidái plant in the vicinity of their malokas
[249] on the upper Aracá and the middle Demini, respectively. All five
[824] of the arrow types used by them have the same feathering --
[251] jaromahîk --, which consists of two halves of the black wing feathers of the mutum (Crax sp.) -- parurí. They are placed against the cane in such a way that they alternately show the upper and the
[283] lower side of the feather. At several places on the hand end they are held by two threads of the tight winding of Bromelia fibers -- pemakasiurakama. Inside this winding, which is supposed to strengthen the weak cane against the pressure of the bowstring, there is stuck on the end of the cane in addition a small wooden peg fastened with resin, which has a notch in its thickened outer part, which is set on the bowstring. This is supposed to prevent the cane from splitting when the arrow flies off. The upper end of the feather shaft is wound with a second, narrower winding, in which, between the two halves of the arrow feathers, two additional small black mutum feathers are frequently stuck as ornaments (Fig. 2f).

411 The feathering described belongs to the Guiana type of
● 184 feathering, according to the classification by Meyer (73). Koch-
114

73. Meyer, no date, p. 9.

Grünberg (74) confirms it for the Xirišana, and it can also be recog-

74. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 312 and Pl. 47 (4, 7, 8).

nized on the arrows which that investigator brought back for the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte (Koch-Grünberg Collection, 12.25:33-42). The arrows in the Alfred Boeldecke Collection (56.15:5-7) in the same museum and the drawings by Vinci (75) show that the Xamatári likewise use this

75. Vinci, 1956, p. 146, Fig. a.

Surára
Pakidái
Xamatári
Karimé

/19 cont./

411 feathering, and, according to Salathé, it is also to be found
184 among the Karimé (76).
114

76. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 300 and Figs. 3 and 4.

411 There is an astonishingly wide range of variation for the arrow points, of which the following five different types occur among the Surára and Pakidái:

1. Kamaná -- It is a wide, lancet-shaped bamboo point, 25-28 centimeters long, both /20/ ends of which come to a point; the [531] width in the center is 3-4 centimeters. The upper side is rounded off, and the lower one, occasionally somewhat hollowed out, is [283] sometimes painted with black dots. It is inserted in the slightly split arrow shaft and tightly wound with Bromelia fibers (Fig. 2a). Since the arrows with this large point have particularly great penetrating power, they are used chiefly for the hunting of tapirs and jaguars; moreover, they are used for warlike encounters. Every Surára and Pakidái man always carries two or three such reserve points in his quiver.

411 Salathé found similar points among the Karimé (77) and
184
114

77. Salathé, 1931/32, pp. 299/300 and Fig. 3b.

Vinci among the Xamatári (78). Moreover, they are confirmed

78. Vinci, 1956, pp. 145 and 146, Fig. b.

for the latter Indians by a specimen in the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte. (Alfred Boeldecke Collection, 56.15:5. Length, 23 centimeters; width in the center, three [531] centimeters. On the lower hollowed-out side, this point is painted with a black, serpentine line.)

Shiriana
Surára
Pakidái

/20 cont./

411
184
114
[283]

The lancet-shaped bamboo points of the Xiriâna investigated by Koch-Grünberg, on the other hand, have a somewhat different shape. Here the two ends do not come to a point, as among the Surára, Pakidái, Karimé, and Xamatári, but rather one end is thickened, hollowed out, and, wound with Bromelia fibers, is set on a wooden shaft inserted in the arrow cane (79). Three such

79. Koch-Grünberg 1923a, p. 312 and Pl. 47 (5, 8).

Xiriana arrow points of the Koch-Grünberg Collection in the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte have, moreover, the respectable length of 34 centimeters (12.25:37) and 35 centimeters (12.25:34-35).

Inasmuch as the Surára and Pakidái, according to their own statements, borrowed their lancet-shaped bamboo points from the Xiriâna, the ensuing alteration process is quite significant, since, indeed, the point is no longer mounted on a wooden shaft, but is inserted directly into the arrow cane.

Furthermore, lancet-shaped bamboo points have been confirmed for the Waiká by Zerries (80) and Schuster (81), but it is

80. Zerries, 1956b, p. 151.

81. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

not clear from their texts whether this is the same type as that of the Surára, Pakidái, etc. or that of the Xiriâna.

411
171

How greatly the lengths and attachment possibilities of such bamboo points vary among South American Indians is very clearly shown by the comprehensive investigations of Meyer (82) and

82. Meyer, no date, pp. 18, 19, 25, 27, 30, 36, 37, 47, 48, 49, and Plates I, 11, 13; II, 16; III, 14; IV, 8, 15.

/20 cont./

Métraux (83).

83. Métraux, 1949, pp. 236/37 and Fig. 64.

2. Rahaká -- This is a narrower lancet-shaped bamboo point which is inserted in the arrow cane wound with Bromelia fibers in the same way as the kantaná (Fig. 2b). The individual points are 20-22 centimeters long and 1.5 - 2 centimeters wide in the middle. Wild pigs, water hogs (capybara), deer, pacas, and cutias (see p. 4) are killed with them. It is noteworthy that such narrow bamboo points have hitherto not been mentioned in the literature.

3. Kantarím -- Point with barb, made from a twin-pointed piece of bone from the cuatá (Ateles paniscus L.). This is lashed, by means of a winding of Bromelia fibers additionally coated with pitch, parallel to the upper end of a wooden shaft inserted in the arrow cane (Fig. 2c). With this arrow tip, which is very widespread in South America, the Surára and Pakidái shoot birds and fish.

According to the classification by Métraux, it belongs to the second principal type of arrow points occurring in the tropical forest region of South America (84). Meyer mentions that it is

84. Métraux, 1949, p. 237.

used in Guiana, but also in western Brazil and among the Karajá /Caraja/ (85). Within the Yanomámi group, they have furthermore

85. Meyer, no date, p. 18.

been documented for the Xiriána (86), Karimé (87), Xamatári (88).

86. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 312 and Pl. 47 (7).

87. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 300 and Fig. 3c.

88. Vinci, 1956, pp. 144 and 146, Fig. c.

Surára
Pakidái

/20 cont./

411
114
184

and Waikâ (89) (90). In the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde

89. Zerries, 1956b, p. 151.

90. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

und Vorgeschichte, there are, /21/ moreover, three Xiriâna arrows with this point (Koch-Grünberg Collection, 12.25:39-41) and an arrow from the Xamatâri (Boeldecke Collection, 56.15:6).

411
[824]

4. Ranaká -- Forked wooden point of a bird arrow; length, 12-15 centimeters. The material is furnished by a tree -- paiôôrimâ -- which shows countless such forkings. The lower part of the stem is pointed and is set in the arrow cane wound with Bromelia fibers (Fig. 2e). Thus far there is a parallel for this arrow point only among the Waikâ (91a).

91a. Barker, 1953, p. 464.

5. Unamú -- Wooden arrow-point with a coating of poison. A thin, pointed rod of the hard wood of the pupunha palm, 22-24 centimeters long, is coated with arrow poison, giving it a black appearance. The rear end is inserted in the arrow cane wound with Bromelia fibers (Fig. 2d). Such poisoned arrows are used exclusively for hunting monkeys, since these animals living in the tall trees are otherwise difficult to kill. According to the statements of Surâra and Pakidâi informants, they never shoot poisoned arrows at human beings.

[224]

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Other Yanonâmi tribes who likewise use poisoned arrows are the Xiriâna (91b), Karimé (92), and Waikâ (93) (94). Moreover,

91b. Koch-Grünberg, 1923, p. 312.

92. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 301 and Fig. 5a.

93. Zerries, 1956b, p. 151.

94. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

/21 cont./

411 184 there is a Xamatári poisoned arrow in the possession of the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte (Boeldecke Collection, 56.15:7).

411 191 114 [439] Métraux writes with reference to the poisoned arrows: "Poisoned arrows were not so widely used by the Indians as is commonly assumed from the exaggerated accounts of the Spanish conquistadors. Curare, which is the most deadly poison known to the Indians, is prepared by relatively few tribes though it is traded throughout wide regions" /cited in English/ (95). Among

95. Métraux, 1949, p. 242.

Karaiben /Carib/ tribes in Guiana, poisoned arrows which are shot with a bow are not very often encountered, for they are documented only for the Makuxí /Macusi/ by Richard Schomburgk (96) and for

96. Richard Schomburgk, 1847, p. 428.

411 191 the Trio by de Goeje (97). It should be mentioned in this connec-

97. de Goeje, 1906, p. 15; Pl. V, Figs. 10-12; Pl. XI, Fig. 22.

tion, however, that many Karaiben, for example, the Arekuná-Taulipang /Arecuna/, shoot small poisoned arrows with a blowgun; this weapon is unknown to the Surára and Pakidái.

278 Arrow poisons:

[192] [184] According to what my Surára informants reported to me, they use three kinds of poison of different strengths, all of which, however, they designate by the general name -- mamokôrimaunápe. This name is almost the same as the one which the Waiká, according to Zerries, use for arrow poison -- mamokordi (98).

98. Zerries, 1956b, p. 151.

Surára
Pakidái

/24 cont./

411 824 Among the Indians investigated by me, I observed neither poles nor clubs (112), but I did see an intermediate form, namely, sticks

112. Among the Xiriâna, too, Koch-Grünberg did not discover any native clubs (Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 313).

made of pupunha wood 1.30-1.40 meters long, which are somewhat thicker at one end and the name of which is likewise -- hímo. With these the men, for certain reasons, engage in stick-duels (113) which resemble those of the Guayakí (114);

411 578 191

113. Becher, 1959, pp. 162 ff.

114. Baldús, 1939, p. 113.

they differ greatly, however, from the stick combats of the Botokuden (115). Nevertheless, there are distinct parallels be-

411 184

115. Prince zu Wied-Neuwied, 1820, pp. 368-370.

tween the poles or clubs of the Waikâ and the sticks of the Surâra and Pakidái, first of all, on account of the similar use to which they are put and, secondly, because of the similar name. It is therefore to be assumed that pole and stick represent very primitive weapons, from which, presumably as a result of external influences, the club was developed.

[174]

411 Quivers:

The bamboo quivers -- tôra -- 32 to 40 centimeters long, with a diameter of four to five centimeters, are an important accessory for the hunting and war weapons. They are for the most part decorated with incised serpentine lines and zigzag designs (Figs. 4a, 4b).

[581]

411 482 The quiver, in which there are always a few poisoned arrow-points wrapped in palm leaves and several large, as well as small,

Surára
Pakidái

411 /24 cont./
482 lancet-shaped bamboo points, is worn on a neck cord by every hunter and warrior, who has it hang down on his back so that it does not interfere with the stretching of the bow.

411 /25/ Quivers of the same form and carried in the same way
184 are also found among the Waiká, as may be seen from a photograph by Zerries (116). Moreover, the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte owns such a quiver, though without decoration, from the Xamatári (Boeldecke Collection, 56.15:3a).

372 4. Fire-making Apparatus

Tied by means of a string of cotton or curauá (Bromelia fiber) to every Surára and Pakidái quiver at the top and bottom is the fire-drilling apparatus -- borôrohík -- which consists of a lancet-shaped hearth -- panâibequehík -- and two drilling sticks -- [824] ihirupehík (Fig. 5). Both parts are made from the soft wood of the [184] wild cacao tree -- porôroá -- exactly as among the Waiká (117).

117. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

372 Koch-Grünberg documents such a fire-drilling apparatus for the
114 Xirianá (118), but without mentioning the material. On the basis

118. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 311.

of a specimen which he brought back for the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte (Koch-Grünberg Collection, 12.25:124), however, one may state that it is likewise made of the wood of the wild cacao tree. He says nothing at all about [411] quivers and thus does not seem to have found any. Nor did I find elsewhere in the literature any parallels for the very practical combination of quiver and fire-making apparatus (119). Nevertheless,

392 119. That it is well-known among the
411 Xamatári, however, is proved by two ob-
184 jects from that tribe in the Hamburg Museum
114

Surára
Pakidái

/25 cont./

372
411
184
114

119.(cont.) Volkerkund und
für (Boeldecke Collec-
Vorgeschichte and b), and pre-
tion 56. 15 3a fire-making apparatus
sumably the fastened to the quiver
is likewise Waikâ. Definite
among the about this by
statements Schuster have not
Zerries and made.
yet been

Fig. 5. Bamboo quiver with fire-drill apparatus tied on.

372 Nevertheless,
[484] it is perfectly obvious, for if the Surára and Pakidái men on war and hunting expeditions are unable to return to the maloka in the evening, they are able to kindle a fire along the way in three to four minutes. To do this a man in a squatting position holds the hearth on the ground with one foot and drills with the palms of his
[412] hands (Ill. 31). The holes of the hearth are previously bored with
[239] a knife made of the sharp tooth of the cutia (Dasyprocta aguti L.)
(See P.116) and are /26/ connected with a small groove on the Side).

283 /26 cont./
171 Up to now there has been only one parallel to this, namely
• 184 a Quechua spindle (124). The spindle of the Karimé, on the
114

124. Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, pp. 26/27.

basis of the drawing in Salathé s article, seems to resemble those of the Surára and Pakidái (125). Unfortunately, Salathé does

125. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 305, Fig. 14.

not indicate whether the whorl is held in position by a wrapping put on below it or perhaps by means of resin or wax, as is the case, for example, for the spindles of the Chama and Pauserna (126).

126. Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, pp. 26/27.

283 This already exhausts the comparisons with regard to the securing of the whorl by means of a wrapping, wood, or wax, so that no conclusions about origin and distribution can as yet be drawn about it.

283 During the time I lived with the Surára and Pakidái, I
123 found that many women preferred to use the lids of my empty powder-boxes and skin-cream jars as whorls, /27/ and they preferred to spin the surgical cotton which I carried with me rather than their cultivated cotton, because, they said, the threads spun from it were stronger and more durable.

283 Spinning is done in the following way: The woman sits on a thin tree trunk with the lower part of her legs bent back. The cotton that is to be worked hangs over her left shoulder and from there the thread is fed out with the fingers of the left hand. She first rolls the spindle, on the barb of which she has fastened the thread, in a horizontal position with the palm of her right hand on her slightly sloping right thigh, moving her hand rapidly from the knee upwards. This gives the thread a

283 /27 cont./
191 it is chiefly the Karaiben who spin thread out of cotton, and he
194 believes that they also brought along cotton and the spindle
114 when they immigrated into Guiana (133). The latter assumption

133. Im Thurn, 1883, p. 287.

has, however, not yet been proved, for on the upper Rio Negro Koch-Grünberg met Karaiben tribes who were acquainted with neither cotton nor the spindle. To an inquiry by Frödin and Nordenskiöld about this, he replied in a letter as follows: "It is an absolute mystery to me why the Indians on the upper Rio Negro do not plant cotton for spinning and have no spindles. It would be important to investigate how far this absence of spindles extends down the Rio Negro and into its tributaries, which, to be sure, from the Curicuriary downward, are almost completely unknown ethnographically" (134).

134. Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, p. 21, footnote 1.

283 Within the Yanonámi group, cotton and spinning are known,
184 in addition to the Xiriána, Surára, and Pakidái, also to the
194 Puseheweteri, Aramamesteri, and Karauateri, members of
114 whom I met in the malokas of the Surára and Pakidái, and also to the Karimé (135) and the Waiká, who, according to Schuster,

135. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 305 and Fig. 14.

presumably became acquainted with cotton through the Karaiben Makiritare (136).

136. Schuster, 1958b, p. 16.

Surára
Pakidái

/28 cont./

291
114 circumcision, is more suggestive. "Not that the opening is enlarged; it is a matter of a gymnastic treatment of phimosis rather than an operative one. Do they not stretch the skin which the others cut? Do they not make room inside, where the others make it toward the outside? This may be doubted least of all for the clamping of the preputium by means of the hip cord, which, as has already been mentioned, seems to be the oldest form, for the hip cord has been retained everywhere. The skin was roughly pulled forward with the cuff. Among young men it often looked sore and scraped. The European has the shoemaker put shoes that are too tight upon the last, but in the interior of Brazil, where only finished, imported goods are bought, a man of social standing thinks nothing of appearing in patent leather shoes which he has widened by a couple of vigorous slashes. His knife is to the shoemaker's last what the circumcising splinter or thorn is to the hip cord"(144).

144. Karl von den Steinen, 1894, p. 199.

Besides the verified feeling of modesty, this assumption may
[833] quite possibly be a second reason. One would then have a parallel, as it were, to the girls who are deflowered with the finger by the mother after the first year of life; it is expressly stated that this is done to facilitate sexual intercourse later on (see p. 135).

291
184 Among other Yanonámi tribes, too, the hip cord of plant fibers or cotton is used by both sexes, /29/ and the men likewise tie up the penis with it. I was able to verify this among members of the Xiriána, Pusheweteri, and Aramamesteri who, as wives or visitors, were staying in the malokas of the Surára and Pakidái. The captive Karauateri girl, Nikeromá, also always wore a hip cord and told me that this was characteristic for her tribe and that the men likewise stuck the member under it. Similarly, Zerries (145) and Hübner (146) point out that the

145. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

146. Hübner, 1907, p. 231 and Fig. 12.

Surára
Pakidái

/29 cont./

291 Waiká use a hip cord to bind up the member, and, according to
184 a statement of the last-named author, the Xiriána too. There is further substantiation for the Karimé (147).

147. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 305.

291 In connection with P. Schmidt (148) and Nordenskiöld (149),
191
184

148. P. Schmidt, 1913, p. 1047.

149. Nordenskiöld, 1924, pp. 147/48.

I investigated this strange custom in my study, "Gürtel und Hüftschnüre südamerikanischer Naturvölker /Belts and Hip Cords of South American Primitive Peoples/," and found them verified for 39 tribes, to which six more are now added, the Surára, Pakidái, Puseheweterí, Aramamesterí, Karauaterí, and Karimé. It is even to be suspected that among all the tribes or groups that belong to the ethnic unit of the Yanonámi the membrum is tied
291 up. Since this custom is likewise common among the Pano and
191 Tukano /Tucano/ tribes, as well as among the Makú /Macu/, and
184 three San Agustín statues prove the pre-Columbian occurrence (150).

150. Preuss, 1929, I, p. 79; II, Plates 1; 55 (1); 64 (1).

the northwestern part of South America clearly stands out as the nuclear area and probably the area of origin of this very old custom. On the other hand, the Karaiben /Carib/ and Aruak /Arawak/ tribes, which, according to the investigations up to now, did not immigrate into Guiana until later, do not observe it, with the exception of the Yauapery /Yauaperí/ (151), and

151. Hübner, 1907, p. 231.

the Tupi even regard the tying up of the penis as abominable

/29 cont./

292 curauá fibers at /30/ /Fig. 7 appears here/ intervals of 1.5-2
284 centimeters for men's belts and 0.5-1 centimeter for boys' belts, which produces bulges and grooves. Before the belt is slipped off the sticks, a small, two to five-strand twisted cord of cotton or curauá fibers is drawn through the openings and knotted into a loop by means of the two ends three to five centimeters long. These two loops are twisted into each other in front, over the abdomen, by the wearer, and the knots keep the belt secure (Fig. 6a and b, Ill. 23). After [531] they are finished, serpentine [386] lines, circles, or dots are painted on these belts with urucú, for which a small stick is used; often, however, they are colored red all over.

Fig. 6a
Men's belt, detail.

Fig. 6b
Men's belt, diagram.

292 Among the Waikâ, Zerries found the same men's belts (158),
184

158. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

and from the photographs in other publications of this author it may be seen that they are worn in the same way as among the Surára and Pakidái (159) (160).

159. Zerries, 1955b, colored picture on jacket and photograph on p. 663, lower left.

160. Zerries, 1954b, Pl. VI, top.

Surára
Pakidái
Puseheweteri

/30 cont./

girls and 0.5 centimeter for those of old women. This distinguishing feature was always pointed out to me. Tie strings and the wearing style correspond in this case too with the men's belts, as does the painting with urucú, which is applied on the outer side. As a result of their width, these belts are much easier to paint than those of the men. Most often one sees serpentine lines, occasionally circles are placed between them, and sometimes too the painting only consists of circles, or circles and dots (Fig. 9 a-e; Fig. 10 a-d); there are also belts, however, which are colored red all over.

Xiriána women who are married to Surára and Pakidái men wear the same belts, as did the little captive of the Surára, Nikeromá, from the hostile tribe of the /31/ /Figs. 8 and 9 appear here/ /32/ /Fig. 10 appears here/ Karauateri (Ills. 17 and 18). When I asked them the name of their belts, they gave me the designation -- nyõ -- which corresponds to the Surára and Pakidái word.

The Puseheweteri women gave me the same word, although their belts have a somewhat different form (161). They are 60-

161. I saw them on the women of that tribe who were married to Surára and Pakidái men.

70 centimeters long and consist solely of a thick layer of cotton which has been somewhat twisted together. In other words, it is a very characteristic string-belt, that is, without wrappings or cross-bindings. An additional little fringed apron, however, 22-26 centimeters long, is attached to a tie-string. To make it, 60 to 90 cotton strings, 14-18 centimeters long, are put over the tie-string. After that, starting from the left, the end of the first string hanging down in front is knotted with the one of the second hanging down in back and tightly twisted with it, then the front end of the second one with the rear end of the third, and so forth. The fringes hanging down are 7-9 centimeters long and, to assure firmness, are wound once more below the tie-string with a thin cotton thread. When the belt is worn, the little

[text continues on p. 69]

Puseheweteri
Surára,
Karimé

/32 cont./

292
531

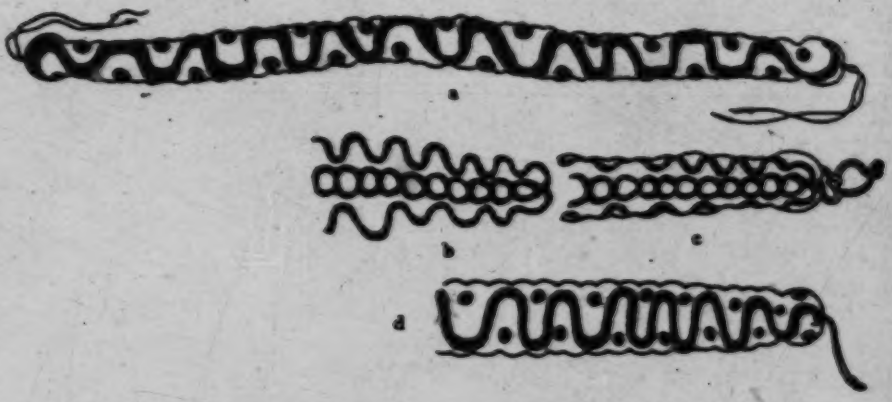

Fig. 10 a-d. Various paintings from women's and girls' belts. /On p. 131 this caption is given as "Various paintings from men's and young men's belts."/

531
292
184 fringed apron rests directly over the pubic region (Ill. 15). These belts, including the little aprons, are as a rule dyed with urucú. It should
292 also be pointed out that younger Puseheweteri women usually adorn
531 the two ends of the little apron with small feathers of the toucan
239 (Rhamphastus sp.), mutum (Crax sp.), and ahambé azul (Cotinga
184 cayana L.) fastened to a string. Older Puseheweteri women, on the other hand, always have hanging on the ends of the little apron eight to twelve mussel shells, 2-3 centimeters long and pierced on one side, which, when the wearers walk, beat together and make a soft jangling noise (Fig. 11).

292 Exactly the same belt with fringed apron is documented by
184 Salathé for the Karimé women, and from his statements it is to be seen further that the men also wear it, though without the pubic covering (162).

162. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 305 and Fig. 13a, b.

It should be mentioned that a few Surára women, following the example of their Puseheweteri sisters, have likewise fastened such a fringed apron to a tie-string of their plaited belts. In this the mixture of two cultural elements can be seen especially clearly.

/34 cont./

292 171 The neighboring Wapixana /Wapishana/ men (Aruak) /Arawak/), moreover, wear a very similar belt and attach to it a pubic band which is drawn between the legs (175).

175. Farabee, 1918, p. 29.

[648] [179] Since the Surára and Pakidái waged many wars with the Makuxí (the father of the Surára chief Hewemão is even supposed to have been killed by a Makuxí warrior), it would be entirely possible that they took over from this Karaiben /Carib/ tribe the form of the plaited, wide, flat belt, but then used it, not as men's, but as women's clothing.

179 [179] 174 184 The little fringed apron so typical for the Puseheweterí and Karimé women was also surely copied from Karaiben models, which, in turn, could have been borrowed from the Aruak, for Farabee confirms it also for Wapixana and Mapidian /Maopityan/ girls (176). According to Roth, a woven, red-dyed belt, the lower

292 171

176. Farabee, 1918, Pl. XXIX, A.

edge of which is fringed and, in addition, provided with three pendant tassels, is tied around young Makuxí and Wapixana girls on the occasion of their first menstruation. He designates this article of clothing as "apron belt" /cited in English/ (177). A

177. Roth, 1924, p. 437.

dyed belt provided with fringe is likewise documented for the Maiongkong (178) (179) and, /35/ according to Roth, resembles

178. R. H. Schomburgk, 1841, p. 215.

179. Richard Schomburgk, 1847, pp. 402/03.

000 the above-mentioned apron-belt (180). When Koch-Grünberg saw

180. Roth, 1924, p. 444.

/35 cont./

292 114 Westermarck (189), who regard the belts as a sexual stimulus,

189. Westermarcj, 1901, pp. 195/96, 211.

by means of which the eyes are supposed to be drawn to the pubic parts. For the Surára and Pakidái, however, /36/ this hypothesis does not apply, in spite of their open belts, for the naked body does not provide any sensual stimulation for them, but rather solely the sexual act. According to Krause, among the Karajá /Caraja/ the feeling of modesty of the girls is supposed to have led to the development of the types of belts. As evidence for this, he gives the following observation: "Women never removed or changed their bands in our presence, and small girls from whom I bought belts went behind the nearest mat wall in order to put on a new one there before they brought me the worn belt" (190). My experiences among the Surára

291 123

190. Krause, 1911, pp. 208/09.

and Pakidái were the same with respect to the hip cords, among men as well as among women and children, but they always untied their belts without shyness and gave them to me in exchange for trade goods. This was also true of the Pusheweteri women, which shows that their little fringed aprons do not represent, say, a pubic covering, but merely ornamentation. Moreover, they also tie on their belts only for festive occasions.

292 184

291 171 The situation with respect to the children's belt made of the skin of the maracajá is unique. It should be noted, however, that in Guiana, one of the chief South American areas of distribution of the skin belt (191) (192), specimens made of jaguar skin have

191. Becher, 1951, I, p. 82; II, plate and Map No. 4.

192. Becher, 1955, p. 72.

301 /36 cont./ Even the younger women, however, have
856 the idea that by occasionally wearing it they can preserve their
[824] busts, especially if the cord was made of the original material,
292 curauá fibers. On the other hand, the chest cord and the string bundle, which is worn only during festivals and on the occasion of ceremonial acts, are regarded as ornamental objects and insignia of two age classes.

301 The women of the Xiriána, Puseheweterí, Aramamesterí,
184 and Karauaterí whom I met in the malokas of the Surára and Pakidái also wore such cords and string bundles, to be sure, but
[114] said that they were not used in their tribes. This also explains why Koch-Grünberg did not mention such articles when he
301 described the dress of the Xiriána (Schirianá). Among the Arekuná-
171 Taulipang, on the other hand, he saw as festival ornaments for women and men long chains /37/ /Fig. 13 appears here/ of white beads and brown seeds, which they had slung crosswise in many windings over the chest and back (196) (197). Aside from

196. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 37.

197. Koch-Grünberg, 1923b, Plates 15, 45, 62, 91, 92, 93, 98, 99, 100, 102, and 107.

the additional ornamental material used, these chains differ from the cords and string bundles described above in the way they are worn, for they reach much farther down.

301 One thus gains the impression that in the case of the chest
174 cord of curauá fibers used by the Surára and Pakidái women it is a very primitive object from which the string bundle was developed after the introduction of cotton. This, in turn, could have been borrowed by Karaiben tribes, perhaps during war contacts, and
[191] transformed by them into a long ornamental chain. The former is, to be sure, also slung crosswise, but the original meaning, the enhancement of the breast form, was lost, which may also be deduced from the fact that among the Arekuná-Taulipang even men tie such an ornamental chain around themselves.

/38 cont./

301
[438]

200. (cont.)
centimeters wide. She likewise designated it for me with the name nyṏmutimá and added that she had obtained it from a Xiriána woman.

301
184

The four Xiriána women whom I met in the malokas of the Surára and Pakidái wore the same cords and bands on their upper arms, wrists, and legs, like all the Puseheweteri and Aramamesteri women, including the captive Karauateri girl. The latter, however, said that they had only adopted the upper-arm bands here, for in their tribes only upper-arm cords were used.

[284]

Fig. 14a-b. Upper-arm string-band of the men.

Fig. 15a-b. Upper-arm string-band of the young men.

Fig. 16a-c. Upper-arm string-band of the women.

/38 cont./

301
284

Fig. 17. Upper-arm string-band of the women.

184
301 According to Koch-Grünberg, too, among the Xiriána (Schirianá) the men wrap long, red-dyed cotton cords around their upper arms, while women use "narrow bands," which, however, they tie so tightly that the marks of them are seen even when they
301 171 are removed (201). The women of the Maiongkong-Yekuaná bind

201. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 305.

their upper arms in the same tight fashion (202). With reference

202. Koch-Grünberg, 1923b, Plates 151, 152, 170, 171, 172.

to the Arekuná-Taulipang, Koch-Grünberg writes: "Among the ornaments of the women, moreover, there are wide wrappings of strings of white beads below the knees, around the upper arms and the wrists. The men /39/ wear the same bead ornaments around the wrists, sometimes also around the ankles, but bind the legs below the knees with white cotton cords, the ends of which hang far down. Around the upper arms they usually wear only a string of white beads or a white cotton cord or, on festive days, a round disk of snail shells... The bindings around the legs are frequently pulled so tightly by young girls, out of vanity, that the calves bulge out tautly" (203) (204).

203. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 34.

204. Koch-Grünberg, 1917, Ills. 7, 8.

302 /39 cont./
593 husband beats his wife for reasons of jealousy, he may likewise choose only this marked part of the head. As a further, but
302 probably secondary reason, I was told that the short haircut and
825 the tonsure made it easier to control the plague of lice. People with long hair, they thought, were certainly unable to escape head lice.

302 The tonsure is also mentioned in religion and mythology.
538 Poré, the lord of the moon, is imagined as an old man with a long white beard and a tonsure painted red (see p. 197).

302 As among many other South American tribes, the tonsure
191 is also a /40/ characteristic feature of all small-sized light-
●184 skinned Indians between the Rio Negro and the upper Orinoco, for the members of both sexes of the Xiriâna, Pusheweterî, Aramamesterî, and Karauaterî whom I met also wore it (206).

302
191
114 206. The Brazilian country people designate all Indians with tonsures as Coroados = crowned. Baldus and Willems, however, quite rightly demand that the use of this name be avoided in Brazilian ethnology: "Coroado- Várias tribus de indios no Brasil, por examplo, os Botocudos, Kaingang, Purí, Bororo, receberam do povo o nome de Coroados, devido ao modo de cortar o cabelo, se bem que êsse modo não fosse igual entre todas elas. Causou êste têrmo grande confusão na etnografia brasileira, razão pela qual deve ser abandonada" /Coroado -- Various tribes of Indians in Brazil, for example, the Botocudo, Caingang, Puri, Bororo, are given the name of Coroado by people, owing to the manner of cutting the hair, even though this style is not the same among all of them. This term has caused great confusion in Brazilian ethnography, and for this reason it should be abandoned/ (Baldus and Willems, 1939, p. 67).

/40 cont./

302 Furthermore, it has been documented for the Waikâ (207) (208),
●184

207. Koch-Grünberg, 1917, p. 198.

208. Zerries, 1954b, p. 75.

Karime (209), and the Xiriâna men on the Motomotô (210). With

209. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 305.

210. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 306.

regard to the latter, Koch-Grünberg points out that in this case
302 it is a male hair style (210) /see footnote above/. In the same
171 work he goes on to describe the tonsure of a Karaiben woman:
"The oldest woman on the Roroima had a strange hair style. Except for a narrow wreath of longer hair all around her head, which was cut in the customary fashion over the forehead, the head hair was cut short, like a monk's tonsure. (Cf. Vol. VI, Plate 86). I was unable to discover the reason for this differing hair style" (211). The remarks which Alexander von Humboldt devotes

211. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 27.

to this Indian hair style are also worthy of mention (212).

212. A. von Humboldt, 1860, IV, p. 319.

304 f) Deforming facial ornamentation

The male as well as the female sex among the Surára and Pakidái have pierced ear-lobes -- nhimekakekâ -- (Surára), -- nimukakukâ -- (Pakidái), a perforation of the lower lip -- husekahâ --, and, in addition, the women have such in the corners of the mouth -- kaskehâ.

304 The perforations are already made in babyhood (see p.135).
301 The men use them primarily as a place for feather ornaments (see p. 93). They sometimes also wear as ear ornaments, however,

/40 cont./

304 small pieces of reed 1-2 centimeters long, from which hang, on
301 one or two short chains of beads, small triangular pieces of silver leaf, shiny silver coins, or particularly large glass beads. Women also have a special preference for these objects. The teeth of the cutia (Dasyprocta aguti L.) -- tomenáke --, which the men use as a knife (see p.115, are a typical feminine ear ornament.
[314] To prevent them from slipping out of the perforation, a small lump of tree resin is stuck on the back end. The perforations of the ear lobes are also adorned now and then with blossoms.

In the perforations of the lower lip and the corners of the mouth on either side the women now and again have delicate little reed rods -- tunhabaácre -- 15-17 and 12-15 centimeters
[184] long, respectively. Among the Xiriána women married to Surára and Pakidái men I observed that they wear, in addition, two little reed rods 30-35 centimeters long in the pierced nasal septum -- huxibéka -- (Ill. 16). This piercing I was told, is reserved for only the female members of this large, mighty tribe.
[184] This also explains why the perforations of the Pusheweteri and Aramamesteri women correspond perfectly to those of their Surára and Pakidái "sisters," that is to say, there is no piercing of the nasal septum. The same applies for Nikeromá, the little captive from the hostile tribe of the Karauateri.

301 All the ornamental objects named are made by the male
422 and female wearers themselves and are regarded as personal property.

304 Due to Koch-Grünberg's research among the Xiriána
301 (Schirianá), Waiká (Waíka), and various Karaiben /Carib/ tribes,
184 abundant comparative and supplementary material is available
[171] to me. Thus, the great investigator writes with regard to the
[127] Xiriána (Schirianá): "Nasal septum, /41/ ear lobes, and lower lip were pierced among the men and in many cases adorned with little reed rods almost as long as a hand. On special occasions they also wear a jaguar tooth in the lower lip.

"The women had long reed rods in the pierced ear-lobes, the lower lip, and the corners of the mouth. Three narrow strips of reed, spread out fan-shaped at both ends, adorned the nasal septum (Ill. 12)" (213).

213. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 306.

304 /41 cont./
301 This confirms the statements of my informants, who said
184 that a perforation of the nasal septum was characteristic for the Xirifna. For the male and female Waikâ, too, there is confirmation of nose, ear, and lower-lip rods, and, in the case of women, such in the corners of the mouth (214).

214. Koch-Grünberg, 1917, pp. 198-200.

As for the use of nose-rods, it seems to be a privilege of the two hostile "great ones" (see p. 12), for their lesser allies do not use them.

The other perforations, however, are the same among all the Yanonâmi tribes mentioned, but it should be pointed out that pierced corners of the mouth are found only among women.

304 With reference to the Karaiben Arekunâ-Taulipang, Koch-
301 Grünberg writes: "Ear lobes and lower lip are pierced, and in
171 the case of some men the nasal septum as well" (215). According

215. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 28.

to that, the perforation of the nasal septum is reserved for only the men, and perforations of the corners of the mouth are en-
301 tirely absent. In the ear lobes, however, male as well as female
171 members of the tribe likewise wear little reed rods with one or two short chains of beads hanging down, to which are fastened silver coins and crescent-shaped or triangular pieces of silver leaf (216). The latter are the same type of objects that I found

216. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 28.
Plate 5 (6).

as ornaments among the Surîra and Pakidâi (see p. 85 and Ill. 9 /see p. 270/. Therefore, in this case, too, an adoption from the Karaiben, directly or indirectly, seems to be indicated. In reply to my question about the origin of these ornamental objects, the Xirifna were mentioned, to be sure, but they for their part certainly

/41 cont./

301 as far as Guiana; the Tapuya on the eastern horn of South
171 America remain isolated. The pattern of distribution coincides
301 in essential features with the multiple perforations of the upper
304 lip (these parts also merge into each other very much anatomi-
171 cally) and clearly rests on Andean prototypes" (222). The

222. Menzel, 1957, p. 33.

characteristic mouth-corner rods of the Yanonámi women may well fit into this area of distribution, but not in connection with perforations of the upper /42/ lip, for here instead of the latter, the lower lip is pierced.

304 8) Tattooing
[881] All women and girls have pin-point tattooing over the upper lip, which extends downward on either side of the mouth (Ills. 19 and 24) and is punctured on the girls during the first menstrua-
[192] tion (see p. 66) (223). The designation for this among the Surára

• [184]

223. This tattooing is also found among the female Xirianá, Pusheweteri, and Aramamesteri who are married to Surára and Pakidái men. The little captive of the Surára, Nikeromá, from the hostile tribe of the Karauateri is an exception. She assured me, however, that in her maloka the girls are also tattooed. But she had fallen into the hands of the Surára before her first menstruation, and the tattooing was not put on her here. If later, however, she is married by a Surára man, the pin-point design must subsequently be punctured on her.

is -- uarabakoxík -- and among the Pakidái -- uarabakoxíbe.
[824] These words are derived from the name for the genipap fruit --
[386] uarabá --, the juice of which is used for puncturing the dots.

2: Becher--90 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái

/42 cont./

304 For the Karaiben /Carib/ and Aruak /Arawak/ women of
191 Guiana, however, a puncture-tattooing in the mouth region is also characteristic, and occasionally one finds it even among male Karaiben. In this case, too, it is regarded as a sign of maturity and usually has a magical significance. The punctured patterns, however, differ entirely from those of the Surára and Pakidái. Among the Makuxf /Macusi/ they consist of numerous short, vertical, parallel lines, and the Arekunâ-Taulipang /Arecuna/ prefer dots, dashes, and fishhook patterns (224). The

224. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 45; Pl. 12 (3-16).

latter motifs have also been confirmed for the women of the Wapixana /Wapishana/ (225) (226) and other Aruak tribes in

225. Appun, 1871, p. 523.

226. Farabee, 1918, p. 82, Fig. 9.

British Guiana as well as Surinam (227) (228).

227. Richard Schomburgk, 1847, p. 226.

228. Joest, 1893, p. 83 and Ill. a and b.

304 There are also slight differences with regard to the time of
191 tattooing. The Surára and Pakidái carry it out during the first
881 menstruation, the Arekunâ-Taulipang and Makuxf, on the other
(184) hand, shortly before the onset of it, and, to be sure, in connection with the ant torture (229).

229. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 128.

Surára
Pakidái

/44 cont./

301 South American tribal units developed their abilities and passed
171 on their traditions over the centuries from generation to generation.

301 For the Yanonámi the simple upper-arm ornament represents
184 a further external distinction, for Xirišna, Puseheweteri, and
114 Aramamesteri men whom I met wore it in the same manner. With regard to the Xirišna, my observations correspond with a statement by Koch-Grünberg: "The men," he says, "wrap around the upper arms long, red-dyed cotton strings, on the ends of which hang bird skins (Pl. 46, 2 and 2a). When they go to war, they stick bunches of tail feathers of the red arara in front under the arm bindings, so that they project above the /45/ shoulders" (239).

239. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 305.

For the Waikí this upper-arm ornament is documented by photographs by Zerries (240) (241).

240. Zerries, 1955b, frontispiece.

241. Zerries, 1954b, Pl. VI, top.

301 As for ear and lip ornaments, parallels are found among
237 the Makuxí and Arekuná-Taulipang, but here the white down-
171 feathers of the king vulture or of the large hocco (mutum) are used (242).

242. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 28.

301 j) Bead ornaments
436
(822) European glass beads, especially small ones, are to this day the favorite trade items among the Surára and Pakidái. They value most of all white, blue, and red beads (243), and

243. In this respect the Surára and Pakidái are like many other South American tribes (Menzel, 1957, p. 23 and Pl. 3).

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
waica

/46 cont./

352
284

Fig. 18a-b
Detail of the end fastening on a hammock of embira, as well as loop and knot diagram.

352 roving, hunting, and war expeditions as a travel hammock.
[482] Rolled up, it then hangs on their backs, held by a thin neck-cord
[513] of cotton or curauá (Bromelia fiber). For sleeping they usually lie curled up in it; it takes practice and skill, however, not to fall out.

352 Similar hammocks are also used by the Waikâ, and there,
184 according to Zerries, they are supposed to fulfill certain functions
[114] in the ritual system (246) (247), whereas Schuster says that they

246. Zerries, 1955a, p. 87.

247. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

are made only in an emergency (248). The tree-bast hammocks

248. Schuster, 1958b, p. 16.

of the Xirifna are more highly developed, for they have a weft of cotton threads and plant fibers. Ruth Haebler describes two specimens in the ethnological museums in Berlin (VA 61119) and Leipzig (8736) (249).

249. Haebler, 1919, p. 12.

Surára
Pakidái

/46 cont./

352
[192] Instead of the yâritanacík (embira hammock), the Surára and Pakidái men, on their rovings and hunting and war expeditions, also /47/ frequently use a liana hammock -- totokê -- (254) (255),

254. The name is derived from tototo, with which the liana (cipó-titica) is designated.

255. Except for a slight dialectal difference, the name corresponds to the Waiká word -- "toto" --, with which, however, according to statements by Zerries, they designated their tree-bast hammocks (Zerries, 1955a, p. 87).

which is likewise very light but gives the sleeper a somewhat firmer support. The lengths of these hammocks vary between
[462] 1.90 and 2.10 meters. They, too, are without cross-bindings
352 and are likewise made only by men. This is done as follows:
284 The man has a rather large bundle of long lianas lying in front of him. He splits each one with his teeth into 3-5 flat strips and places these side by side. When he has gathered as many strips as he can easily grasp with one hand, approximately 200-250, he winds a thick liana around the ends. Below the wrapping he then divides the flat strips into several bunches of equal size, each of which he winds twice with two split, twisted lianas (Fig. 19 and Fig. 20). This makes the bundle of strips wider at the ends. As tie ropes the man uses three lianas plaited like braids (Ill. 27).

352
• 184 Such hammocks are likewise used by the Waiká (256) and

256. Schuster, 1958b, p. 16.

Xiriána, but the latter Indians sometimes provide them with cross-bindings of cotton strings (257).

257. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 314 and Pl. 46 (1).

Surára
Pakidái
Waica

352/48 cont./ From a photograph
286
174
184

taken by Zerries (265) it may be seen that the Waiká make their

265. Zerries, 1954b, Pl. VI, bottom.

cotton hammocks in the same way. With regard to the origin and technique, he writes in another place: "The cotton hammock of the Waika was taken over, in simplified form, from the Marikitare /Makiritare/ and, like theirs, is not woven, but merely knotted" (266). Although Zerries uses the expression

266. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

"knotted" /geknüpft/, this is probably the same type which I described for the Surára and Pakidái (267). This is even further

267. The names, too, are very similar, -- "nu" -- among the Waiká (Zerries, 1955a, p. 84; 1954b, p. 71), and -- nyõ -- among the Surára and Pakidái.

elucidated by the following remarks of Schuster: "The cotton hammock, following, as a more recent form, these types made of wild material, exhibits as an essential difference, aside from the cultivated raw material, longitudinal threads held parallel and close together by cross-bindings. Apparently this hammock, whose length is determined by the bow-staff used as a crosspiece on the tying framework, is a clumsy imitation of the far more carefully worked hammock of the Karaiben Makiritare, who live in the northern and northwestern part of the Waika /49/ region" (268).

268. Schuster, 1958b, p. 16.

This cotton hammock of the Waiká, clearly taken over from the Karaiben, thus completely corresponds in form to the one used by the Surára and Pakidái. But what induced the latter in making it to put the warp threads vertically, instead of horizontally, as among the other tribes, cannot yet be explained.

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

/49 cont./

285 462 [824] More highly developed is the carrying basket which consists of bast strips of the curauá plant (Ananas sativus Sch.) -- uaramá. It is made by the male members of the tribe in the following manner: Two groups of plaiting strips are laid on top of each other in different directions and then interwoven with a third group of strips running in still another direction (Ill. 33).

285 194 [971] This, according to Max Schmidt's classification, is the third principal type of South American plaiting (272) (273). This type

272. Max Schmidt, 1904, pp. 490 ff.

273. Max Schmidt, 1905, pp. 330 ff.

of basket (274), which is very widespread in South America, is

274. Abundant comparative material is to be found in Roth (Roth, 1924, pp. 321 ff. and Pl. 100 B and 102) and Mason (Mason, 1904, pp. 529 ff. and Pl. 240 (1, 2).

also regarded as very old, but today is seldom used any more by the Surára and Pakidái. Nothing concerning its origin is known any more among the tribes named. An autochthonous development is possible, but an adoption from Karaiben or Aruak tribes, [179] who use similar baskets, is more probable. The same basket is [184] likewise confirmed for the related Karimé (275).

275. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 302 and Figs. 9 and 10.

285 824 192 The one most frequently used at present is the women's large carrying-basket made of liana strips (276) -- wuéka --, which "has the shape of a somewhat elongated semicircle" (Ill. 34).

276. Each individual liana is split with the teeth into several flat strips. (Cf. also p. 101).

/49 cont./

which "has the shape of a somewhat elongated semicircle" (Ill. 34). This description comes from Koch-Grünberg, and, to be sure, he is referring to the completely identical women's carrying-baskets of the Xirifána (Schirianá). "In this type of plaiting," says the investigator named, "which is probably peculiar to the Schirianá, the vertical strips running out radially from the common center of the bottom are wound spirally with two finer horizontal strips. A few stronger inner rings to which /50/ the vertical strips are lashed with lianas give the basket shape and support. The ends of the vertical strips are secured under a special overcasting of the rim (Pl. 23, 1). By means of tree-bast strips, to which the bark still adheres, the basket is carried by the forehead on the back" (277). The same technique is used by the

277. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, pp. 307/08.

Surára and Pakidái, and the initial plaiting of a carrying-basket (Fig. 21) shows this particularly clearly (Ill. 35). This is /Fig. 21 appears here/ /51/ the type of plaiting which Max Schmidt designates as "double-thread plaiting," the second principal type of South American plaiting (278) (279).

278. Max Schmidt, 1904, pp. 490 ff.

279. Max Schmidt, 1905, pp. 330 ff.

By means of an external feature one can, however, easily distinguish the women's carrying-baskets of the Xirifána from those of the Surára and Pakidái. In the case of the former, the carrying band is fastened only at the edge (280), while the latter

280. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, Pl. 23, 1.

always wind it around the bottom, then lead it through two twisted liana-loops on the lower third as well as on the upper edge, and then knot it on one side (Ill. 34). This gives the wearers a better

/51 cont./

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[482]
[438]

hold, which makes it possible for them to transport substantially heavier loads without chafing themselves. This slight improve-

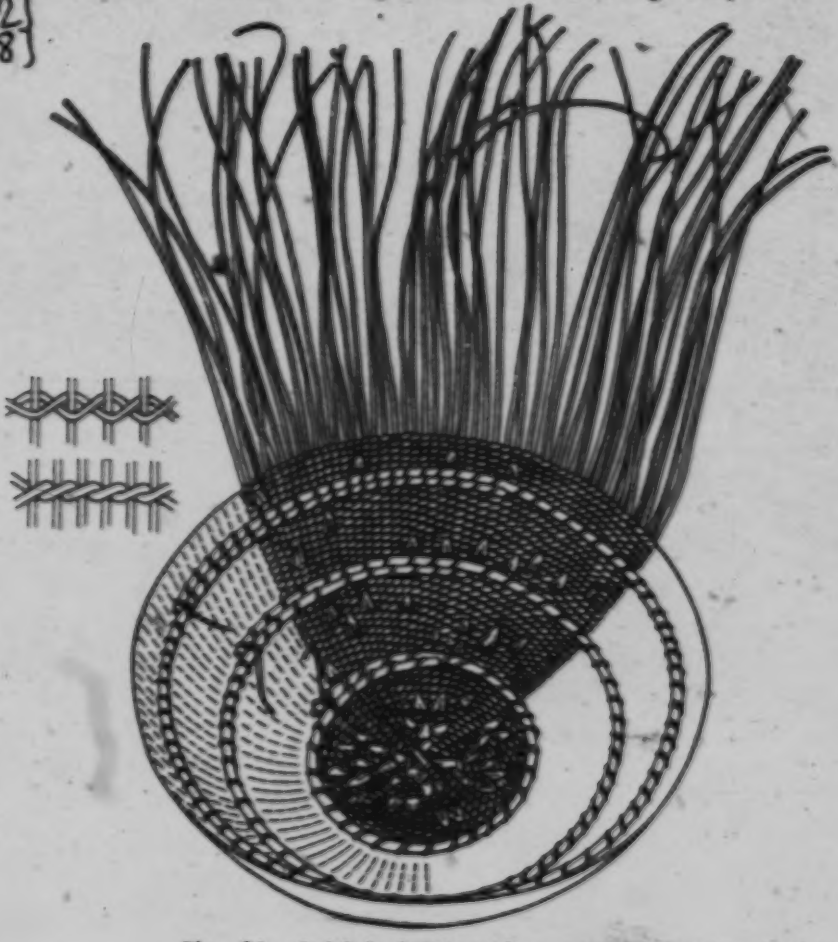

Fig. 21. Initial plaiting of a women's carrying-basket.

ment could have been developed by the Surára and Pakidái women, but the baskets themselves, as well as the method of making them, according to the statements of my informants, represent imported goods from the Xiriána.

The same applies for the round, flat basket-bowls made by the same technique, which are found in various sizes among the Xiriána (281) as well as among the Surára and Pakidái and

Surara
Pakidai
Shiriana

/51 cont./

285
184

281. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 308.

which serve for storing manioc cakes and fruits. Among the last-named Indians I also saw women's carrying-baskets in miniature form, which are meant for small girls, and some with covers --

[531] wes. All the objects named are usually painted with serpentine
[386] lines, for which urucú is used. Finally, it should be mentioned
[461] that the women, like best to lie comfortably in their hammocks while making such baskets and basket-bowls.

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The women's large carrying-baskets and basket-bowls described above are likewise used by the Waikí, and both Zerries and Schuster point out that in the manufacture the twining plaiting-technique is used (282) (283) (284). Similar basket-bowls

282. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

283. Zerries, 1955b, p. 663, Ill. 2.

284. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

are also documented for the Karimé (285), and small hanging

285. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 302 and Fig. 11.

baskets and basket-winnowers from Aruak and Tukano /Tucano/ tribes on the upper Rio Negro, as well as from the Makú /Macu/, exhibit further parallels, which differ only slightly in the external form (286).

286. Koch-Grüngerg, 1910a, pp. 220 ff. and Ills. 142e, 143a, 144.

/51 cont./

285 [192] [824] Then there are small baskets with handles and square bottoms -- yorohíkes -- (Ill. 36), in which women keep their ornaments, arm, leg, and chest cords, the spindle and balls of cotton. To make these, split lianas are again used. The technique employed is very primitive, for the plaiting strip is merely led alternately over and under a plaiting strand (287). The shape of [184]

287. Max Schmidt includes this technique in the first principal group of South American plaiting (Max Schmidt, 1904, pp. 492/93).

these little baskets seems to be peculiar to the Surára and Pakidái, for in the literature I have not yet found a corresponding description with reference to other tribes.

285 824 392 Simple plaited fire-fans -- xuhéma -- are made of the leaf-stalk sheaths of the tucumã palm (Astrocaryum sp.). They have an elongated shape, and the ends of the strips are tied together to form a handle (Fig. 22).

285 392 174 171 Similar fans, but more evenly worked, were found by Koch-Grünberg among the Makiritare, Yekuaná /Yecuana/, and Guinaú in the catchment area of the upper Orinoco (288), from which one

288. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 345 and Pl. 24, 6.

might conclude that this object reached the Surára and Pakidái from here, probably by way of the Xiriána. The reverse route might also be possible, however, if only because most of the Karaiben and Aruak tribes of Guiana use fire-fans with a handle set crosswise (289).

289. Roth, 1924, pp. 291 ff., Pl. 78, 79, and Fig. 91.

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/51 cont./

The tube-press -- pokunho -- has only recently gained entry among the Surára and Pakidái. Among the former I discovered only three specimens, among the latter five, all of which /52/ /Fig. 22 appears here/ were made of bast strips of the curauá plant (Ananas sativus Sch.) and were relatively small (length, 1.10-1.20 meters; diameter, 3-4 centimeters). They were in the possession of a few families who had obtained them by barter from the Xiriána. Heretofore the manioc pulp has been pressed out with the hand by means of small, square plaitings -- yorohf -- (290).

290. The name is practically identical with the one for the small basket with handle -- yorohikes -- and the plaiting technique is the same throughout.

Even today this method is more common than the one with the tube-press, but the latter is gradually beginning to come in. Families who do not as yet own a tube-press sometimes borrow one, for up to now it has been made neither by the Surára nor the Pakidái. The above reference to the fact that the tube-press is supposed to represent an import article from the Xiriána is significant, however. That is, when Koch-Grünberg stayed with a Xiriána group in Motomotó, he did not find any there, but only small basket-winnowers, in which the manioc pulp was squeezed with the hand (291). Hence it is to be assumed that these Indians,

291. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 308.

too, have not known the tube-press for very long; presumably they took it over from the Karaiben. /Fig. 23 appears here./

/52 cont./

854
287
[824]
[413]
[412]
854
[171]
[184]
[114]

9. Band for Carrying Children

The band for carrying children -- okomakuſ -- is made from the bast of an embira tree (Daphnopsis brasiliensis Mart.). For this purpose thin trunks are cut down by the men. Then the women remove the bark and /53/ with a bast beater -- xamotimſ -- (a piece of wood 30-40 centimeters long, from the embira tree) beat on the trunk for 1-2 hours. Through this the bast -- uarimaxfke -- becomes loosened, soft, and pliable, so that finally it can be easily peeled off the trunk -- pekehfk -- (Fig. 23a-c). Then the two ends are slipped into each other and sewed double with a thread of Bromelia fibers or cotton. The holes are pierced beforehand with the little cutia-tooth knife (see p.117), and then the thread can be drawn through without effort.

The carrying-band is always slung over the right shoulder so that the right hand remains free for work, and it ends at the level of the left hip (Ill. 15), which gives the sitting child additional support if the mother puts its legs around her body.

This carrying method is very widespread in South America and is also employed by tribes that do not use the carrying-band (292). Among the Xiriſna Koch-Grünberg does not seem to

292. See, for example, Koch-Grünberg 1923a, Pl. 45.

have seen such carrying-bands, for he says nothing about them.

10. Receptacles

415
824

As receptacles, the fruits of the Bignoniaceae (Crescentia cujete Lin.) and Cucurbitaceae (Cucurbita lagenaria Lin. and Cucurbita idolatrica Lacerda = jamaru), which offer a variety of shapes (ball shape, bottle shape, cucumber shape, and others), are used principally.

[192]

These vessels in general are called -- horotokſ --, except for those of the jamaru fruit (Fig. 24), which are called -- nhapotoſma.

Suráŕa
Pakidái
Shiriana
Waica
Karime

/53 cont./

415 Fruits cut in two furnish correspondingly shaped bowls --
824 maraká. In order to cut them, men or women tie curauá fibers
around the fresh fruit and then scratch along this with the little
[386] cutia-tooth knife (see p.117). On the inside all the bowls are
given a black coating, which is made out of the charred wood of
the pupunha palm and the oily yolk of turtle eggs or cayman fat.

415 A few families also have black, thick-walled, undecorated
323 clay vessels -- habokâ -- with a round bottom, which are poorly
[438] fired and break easily. I was told that they come from the Xiriâna (293).

293. The name, too, is almost the same among the latter -- "hapóga" -- (Koch-Grünberg, 1928, p. 304).

for the Surára and Pakidái do not practice pottery themselves.

323 On the other hand, this craft is also familiar to the Waiká and
●184 Karimé, and, to be sure, they make vessels of the same shape as described above (294) (295). /Fig. 24 appears here./

294. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

295. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 302 and Fig. 12.

123 My pots and pans of aluminum, brought along as gifts, were
415 highly prized by the women of both tribes, as were empty gasoline cans and food cans.

/54/

11. Tools

412 Primitive tools, which consist of teeth, tortoise shell, bone, taquara, bamboo, and wood, are few.

[192] The most important one, and reserved exclusively for male
[237] use, is a small knife made out of the sharp tooth of the cutia (Dasyprocta aguti L.) -- tomenáke --, which every Surára and Pakidái wedges under his left upper-arm cord while traveling and on hunting and war expeditions (Ill. 31) (296). The lower part

[301]

296. The women use the cutia teeth as ear ornaments (see p. 86).

Surára Pakidái

/54 cont./ The lower part
412 of the tooth is firmly anchored with tree resin in a tubular bone
[314] of the jacamim (Psophia crepitans L.) -- nyapín -- which at the
[239] same time serves as the handle and is called -- nyapínmatíx --,
[192] and this part of the shaft is additionally wound with a thread of cotton or curauá (Bromelia fiber) (Fig. 25). /Fig. 25 appears here./

With this small knife the arrow cane is bored to insert the tip, a wooden shaft, or the notched hand-end. The crudely carved bamboo points are improved and sharpened with it, as

[415]
[824]

Fig. 24. Jamaru fruit.

are the points of bone and wood. It is also used, however, to bore holes in the hearth, that is, the horizontal piece of wood of the fire-making apparatus, and to cut a groove at the side. The
[531] serpentine lines and zigzag designs are put on the quiver with it,
[593] and finally it is used by the men to make deep gashes on the bodies of their wives for reasons of jealousy. Almost all the women have large and small scars from this; they always showed them to me with a certain amount of pride, however, as a sign that they are, or were, beautiful and desirable.

412 Other tribes of Guiana, too, and those that in the rest of
184 South America are part of the remnants of the original stratum
[191] use these small knives. They are documented for the Waikâ by

2: Becher--117 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica
Karimé
Shiriana

412 /54 cont./
●184 Zerries and Schuster, (297) (298), for the Karimé by Salathé (299).

297. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

298. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

299. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 306 and Fig. 16.

[237]

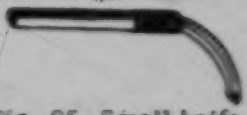

Fig. 25. Small knife made out of the sharp tooth of the cutia (Dasyprocta aguti L.).

Fig. 26. Knife made out of the ventral shell of the perema (water turtle).

[284] [824] and for the Xiriâna by Koch-Grünberg (300). The latter, however,

300. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 313 and Pl. 47 (9).

says that the Xiriâna lash the tooth to a wooden handle by means 000 of Bromelia fibers (301). In the same place Koch-Grünberg likewise

301. Such a knife is to be found in the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte Koch-Grünberg Collection, 12.25:108).

Surara, Sanuma
Pakidai
Waica

412
171 /54 cont./ In the same place Koch-Grünberg likewise mentions a knife with a bone handle which he acquired from an Arekunâ who lived among the Guinaû on the Merewarî, but he adds: "Whether the subdivisions of the Arekunâ who live deep in the interior still use such primitive tools I do not know" (302).

302. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 313 and Pl. 17 (3).

Outside Guiana this little knife is confirmed for the Guayakî (303)

303. de la Hitte, 1897, Pl. III, Figs. 4 and 6.

and Sirionô (304), among others. /Fig. 26 appears here./

304. Nordenskiöld, 1911, p. 193, Ill. 119.

412
●184 /55/ The knife made of tortoise shell -- micî -- represents a
[237] work tool for women. This is the ventral shell of the perema (small water turtle), sharpened on one long side (Fig. 26). Primarily the wild fruits of the pot tree (Lecythis longifolia) are cut with it after cooking (see p. 182).

This knife is also familiar to the Waikâ and is used for the same purpose there (305).

305. Zerries, 1956b, p. 149.

For a third type of knife, which is likewise used only by women, there are the no longer serviceable lancet-shaped arrow points of bamboo -- kantanâ and rahakî -- (see pp. 41/43). They are used primarily for peeling and scraping manioc tubers.

Koch-Grünberg also observed this among the Xirianâ (Schirianâ) (306). The investigater named also points out that the

306. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 308 and Pl. 48 (6 and 7).

Shiriana
Surara
Pakidai

/55 cont./

412 knives are sometimes bound to a pointed wooden handle. This
● 184 strengthening, however, certainly was not added later, but rather is simply the shaft which the Xirišna, unlike the Surára and Pakidái, mount on their arrow points (see p. 43).

412 For cutting hair and shearing off the tonsure, decidedly
462 women's work, a split piece of reed sharpened on one side
302 (taquara -- Guadua sp.) is used.

Such "knives" are also widespread among the South American
412 Indians; Prince zu Wied-Neuwied documents them for the
171 Botokuden (307).

307. Prince zu Wied-Neuwied, 1821, p. 9.

412 Another important tool is the eyetooth from the lower jaw
237 of the wild pig -- manacoauí --, with the inner edge of which the men smooth their bows.

[184] This tool is also used for the same purpose by the Waikâ (308).

308. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

412 For work in the fields the men use a digging stick somewhat
[192] flattened at the lower end and 2-2.20 centimeters long --
[824] namunamutehí --, which they make out of the hard wood of the pupunha palm (Guilielma speciosa Mart.); as a substitute they also occasionally use an old, broken bow-staff.

[184] Zerries also observed the latter practice among the Waikâ (309).

309. Zerries, 1956b, p. 153.

413 A piece of round wood from the trunk of the pupunha palm
462 should also be mentioned; it is used by the women as a bast beater -- xamotimí (see also pp. 112/114).

412 This exhausts the use of primitive tools. Even in olden
177 times, there were certainly not many more. During my stay among the two tribes, however, I saw them already using steel axes, as well as terçados (large bush-knives) and small knives.

Surára
Pakidái

/56 cont./

481 The man, sometimes also the woman, puts this ring around the feet and presses them, with the hollow between the ball of the foot and the heel, in the form of a prehensile foot, firmly against the trunk so that they are fairly sucked against the bark. He assumes a squatting position and then hoists his body upward.

Fig. 27. Climbing ring.

Although he embraces the trunk with his arms and hands, for climbing he uses only his feet, which, because of the ring, always have a firm grip. This grip becomes particularly important after the man has reached the top where he now uses both hands to cut off the fruits.

[191] Such climbing rings are known in many parts of South America and are also used by the caboclos (Brazilian country people). The invention, however, seems to be of Indian origin.

481 222 [137] The pupunha palm (Guilielma speciosa Mart.), however, which plays such an important role in the economic life of the Surára and Pakidái, cannot be climbed in this fashion, because its trunk, the diameter of which is 60-80 centimeters, is covered with long, pointed thorns. In order to be able to harvest its fruits in spite of this, these Indians use a climbing apparatus -- kanaáke -- [184] which is also familiar to the Waiká (311b).

311b. Barker, 1953, p. 446 and Fig. 1.

2: Becher--155 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Surára
Pakidái

/73 cont./

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For the types of burial of the Surára and Pakidái, which are undoubtedly very old and original, there are no parallels thus far in South America (334). This is true of the combined tree- and

• [184)

334. Among the Waikâ /Waica/, the corpse is cremated on the same day on the village square (Zerries, 1955b, p. 664).

fire-burial as well as of the earth burial of old people. A deceased member of the tribe, however, is only hung in a treetop for two or three weeks, so that his flesh will decay, before the bones are subsequently cremated.

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The latter custom, albeit in the form of combined earth- and fire-burial, is, moreover, already mentioned in old sources. "Far inland," writes Barrère with regard to Guiana, "there are nations who assemble in order to dig out skeletons, when they think that the corpse is almost decayed, and after they have calcined these, they drink the ashes, which they soak in roucou, and they believe that they have thereby given their dead a more decent burial than if they left them to worms and putrefaction" (335).

335. Barrère, 1751, p. 172.

764
765
171
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Similar reports are given by Froger about French Guiana (336)

336. "They have great respect for the old people, and when one of them dies, they inter him in the Carbet (Maloka) without any other ceremony than becoming very intoxicated: but when they believe that he is almost decayed, they assemble the Indians of the neighboring Carbets, dig out the bones, burn them, and take the ashes into their Oüicou in order to have a great feast" /translated from the French/ (Froger, 1715, p. 178).

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

173 241 177 [B29]

/75 cont./ According to their own statements, both tribes regard the Xirifana as their culture-bearers in this case too. The latter, however, likewise merely adopted agriculture from their higher Karaiben neighbors (348).

348. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 307.

224 b) Hunting

The majority of Surára and Pakidái men are excellent hunters and practice their hunting with the large bows and arrows described above (see pp. 36 ff.), which they know how to handle masterfully. In addition, they know the habits of the animals precisely. They discover every trail of a wild animal, no matter how faint, sniff it, and announce the time when it was at this place. Often they then follow it for hours through the almost impenetrable forest; sometimes they are /76/ gone for several days. Moreover, they know how to attract the animals by imitative sounds.

There are two methods of hunting, the individual hunt -- larí -- (349) and the collective hunt -- norí -- (350). The latter,

[573] [462]

359. In this case, the hunter often takes his wife along (if he has two or more wives, the oldest usually accompanies him), who must carry the slain animal, or pieces of meat from it, into the maloka.

[184]

350. Among the Waikí, too, there are these two hunting methods, and the names sound very similar there, "larna" and "henioma" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 151).

however, now takes place only before the great festival in memory of the dead (see pp. 224 ff.), in order to provide sufficient supplies of meat for it. Trained dogs are trusty helpers in hunting (see pp. 185ff.). [231]

Of larger game the wild pig (Pecari tajacu) -- poxe -- is most often killed, and after that the tapir (Tapirus americanus Briss.) -- xáma -- and a deer species (Cervidae sp.) -- hajá. The

Surara
Pakidai
Waica

/78/

226 Among the Waikâ, too, fishing ranks last in the acquisition
•184 of food and is likewise practiced with bow and arrow there, as well as with the fishhook in more recent times. It is worth noting, however, that in addition they are familiar with a method of fishing by poisoning the water (356a) (356b) 357).

356a. Barker, 1953, pp. 464/65.

356b. Zerries, 1966b, p. 152.

357. Zerries, 1958c, p. 179.

222 d) Gathering
[462] Not only women, but also men take part in the gathering activity. The latter have the duty in particular to bring in the fruits of the many palm species (358), of which the following are

358. The general name for palms is -- petabaîmo.

the most important: acaî (Euterpe oleracea Mart.) -- uaîma --, bacaba (Oenocarpus distichus Mart. or Oenocarpus bacaba Mart.) -- hokomakê --, bucu (Manicaria saccifera Gaertn.) -- yauetoîh buriti (Mauritia vinifera Mart.) -- etewexî --, curua (Attalea spectabilis Mart.) -- yauatoâ --, tucuma (Astrocaryum sp.) -- pahî -- (359), and pupunha (Guilielma speciosa Mart.) --

[481] 359. To climb the palms named they used the climbing ring (see pp. 119/120).

komunamâ -- (360). The fruits of smaller palms that are easy to

[481] 360. Since the trunk of this palm is covered with sharp thorns -- miîmiçibâ --, it can be climbed only with the help of two specially constructed implements (see pp. 121/122).

/78 cont./

222 carrying baskets. -- Of the fruits of the wild cacao tree (Theobroma sp.) -- boroŝ --, which has many branches and whose foliage is dense and dark, only the sweet pith of the husks is sucked out, while the beans, which played such an important part among the high-culture peoples of Central America, are carelessly thrown away (363). -- The apple-like fruit of the lucuma tree

[184] [192] [114]

363. Zerries reports the same thing of the Waikâ, and here the names are "loa" or "boholoa" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 150; Zerries, 1958c, p. 177).

(Lucuma macrocarpa Hub.) -- kumató -- is valued for its sweetish, gelatinous pulp that surrounds the pit; the /79/ outer meat of the fruit and the shell, on the other hand, has a very bitter, unpleasant taste. -- The fruit of the wild pineapple, which only reaches the size of a medium-sized apple, is also eaten with relish.

The pods of the pacova sororoca, a Musaceae species (Ravenala guianensis Benth.) -- mokohé -- (364), gathered espe-

364. The pacova-sororoca is often erroneously called "wild banana" because its large leaves, which resemble those of the banana trees.

cially frequently, contribute more to the everyday food. -- When there is an occasional food shortage during the rainy season, the flat brown fruits of the pot tree (Lecythis longifolia), which are called uapó by the Surára and kurupó by the Pakidái, are appreciated to this day (365).

365. The Waikâ have the name "wabu" for them (Zerries, 1956b, p. 149; Zerries, 1958c, p. 177); Barker, 1953, p. 443).

Besides these most important vegetable products that are gathered, there are also a great many animal ones. To be named here above all is the honey of several species of small bees (366)

[36]

366. There are said to be more than 20 different varieties of them.

Surárg
Pakidai

/79 cont./

241 wood is well dried out, the clearing is set afire and the potash that remains constitutes fertilizer at the same time. Large trunks, stumps, and branches that did not burn up are simply left lying [361] and the crops are planted in between (Ill. 37). Only in the center of the clearing is a circle about 50-60 meters in diameter completely cleaned up, for here an open or closed circular maloka [622] is erected. This roça (forest clearing) -- hikarf --, which surrounds the community house, is then divided up by the chief among the individual families, so that they may plant here banana plants, pupunha palms, manioc, taioba, carâ, cotton, [462] tobacco, etc. (368). Clearing and planting, along with weeding,

• [184]

368. Since an interest in agriculture has not been aroused in all families, however, it happens that some may relinquish their share, which is then worked by another family.

[134] falls to the men; the women help only with the harvest. Since the soil is very infertile, however, /80/ for it has only a thin humus layer which is constantly being leached out by the tropical rains, the cultivation of tubers is possible for at most three years (369).

[132]

369. The luxuriant growth of the forest may be explained only by the humidity and warmth of the climate, which, like hothouse air, accelerates the circulation of nutrients.

24
36
166 Then the work of clearing and burning off begins anew beyond the previous circular strip of field. This may be repeated several times, so that the maloka is finally surrounded by three, four, or more ring-shaped fields, until one day the tribe builds its maloka 245 at another place and lays out new fields. Banana trees and pupunha palms are left standing in the old clearings, but are always planted also in the new ones, since these fruit trees yield for 6-8 years or 50 years (pupunha palm); their fruits are regularly harvested, even on long-abandoned, distant fields.

Surára
Pakidái

/80 cont./

241 166 361 It is worth mentioning that at present in the course of one year the Surára as well as the Pakidái regularly carry on their field work in two places that are far apart. During the rainy season, April-September, the Surára, as is well known, live at the Cachoeira dos Indios on the upper Aracá and the Pakidái on a right tributary of the middle Demini, where they also own fields. On the other hand, they spend the summer season together in the large, open Surára maloka (between the Demini and Aracá rivers), around which was laid out a roça which was large enough to be divided among the Surára and Pakidái families. Thus, both tribes always have the benefit of abundant harvests at their permanent dwelling sites. In addition, there are the bananas and pupunha fruits of the abandoned fields, to which the entire tribe travels at the time of this harvest, or gathering expeditions are undertaken to bring in chestnuts, inga, and other kinds of wild fruits.

241 423 Since, however, on account of the seminomadic way of life of these Indians, one forest clearing or another is left untended for shorter or longer periods, there is the danger that in the meantime members of hostile tribes will break in and take possession of the produce there. Provision is made for this, however. Before the tribe leaves one of its clearings, a few men commissioned by the chief stick several wooden arrow points and thorns of the pupunha palm, coated with poison, into the ground and put leaves over them. Hostile Indians with plunder in view therefore risk the danger of running these into their legs (370).

[291] 370. All Indians of this region go barefoot.

[184] As I was told, this custom is resorted to by all Yanonámi tribes, and for this reason no Indian would ever think of setting foot on the deserted clearing of another tribe (371).

[114] 371. This hint may be of the greatest importance for research travelers who want to work in this region.

/80 cont./

245 [262] Among the vegetable foods of the Surára and Pakidái, bananas, of which I found nine different varieties, occupy first place today. Of these, in turn, the most frequently cultivated is the mealy banana (Musa paradisiaca normalis; the regional caboclo population calls it pacovinha) -- kuratá -- (372).

[194] 372. With regard to its origin, Sauer writes: "The plantains and bananas (Musa paradisiaca) originated in southeastern Asia and were there bred into a great variety of seedless cultivated forms. Their presence in the New World is considered by many as due to post-Columbian introduction" /cited in English/ (Sauer, 1950, p. 526).

192 245 Kuratá, however, is also the general designation for all bananas (373). In addition, the following special names were

[184] 373. Zerries gives the same name with regard to the Waiká (Zerries, 1956b, pp. 152, 155), and Koch-Grünberg gives the following names for the Karaiben Arekuná-Taulipang /Arecuna/: "kurá:tana," "kura:tana'," or "kuratanâ" (Koch-Grünberg, 1928, pp. 47, 268). The corresponding Xiriána designation, namely, "kalatá:ke," is very similar (Koch-Grünberg, 1928, p. 306). This definitely proves that the banana, or at least one variety, reached the Waiká, Xiriána, Surára, and Pakidái from Karaiben tribes. The myth concerning the origin of the banana, which the Surára chief told me (see p.249), also shows that this fruit came from the outside only in very recent times.

[174]

given me for the other eight varieties (374):

[184] 374. The Waiká, too, use very similar terms for certain varieties of bananas (Zerries, 1956b, p. 153):

Surára Pakidái

/81/

192 245 Designation of the Surára and Pakidái:

pakatarimã	pacovão
kuratá pauximí	inajá
nakaximí	São Tomé roxa
rokojá	São Tomé branca
rokomã	banana maçã (?)
parauá	caité
roórenvõkãkõ	banana bajé
xiahíma	Banana govêrno (375)

[126]

375. Unfortunately, I could not carry out a botanical classification of these varieties.

245 [412] [824] With the help of a digging stick made from the wood of the pupunha palm and 1.60-1.80 meters long, which has a flattened point at the lower end (Ill. 38), or a broken bow-staff, cuttings of banana trees are planted in the clearing, and after only a few months they are full-grown and bear fruit. The work of planting [462] as well as the care of the plants falls to the men, while the women help only with the harvest (376).

● [184]

376. Among the Waiká, the plants are cared for by men and women (Zerries, 1956b, p. 153).

Besides the banana, the pupunha palm (Guilielma speciosa Mart.) -- komunamá -- is cultivated to a considerable extent. Cuttings are used for planting, but occasionally seeds as well. These palms, which always stand between the bananas, give the clearings of the Surára and Pakidái a characteristic stamp [481] (Ill. 37). The trunk, 18-20 meters tall, which is covered with pointed thorns -- mimicibá -- and can therefore be climbed only

245
137
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[124]
[184]

/81 cont./
mention such seedless fruits (382).

382. Zerries, moreover, thinks it is possible that among the Waiká the pupunha fruit was the predecessor of the mealy banana (Zerries, 1956b, p. 148).

244 The cultivation of tubers, which is always done separately from the banana plantings, has hitherto been practiced on only a very modest scale. It includes the cultivation of taioba or taro (Colocasia antiquorum and Xanthosoma violaceum Schott.) -- ohĩná -- (383). cará or yams (Dioscorea

383. Among the Waiká the corresponding name is "ohina" (Zerries, 1956b p. 153).

sp.) -- cabiromá -- sweet manioc, known in Brazil as macaxeira aipim or mandioca doce (Manihot palmata Muell. Arg.) -- mihitarima -- bitter manioc (Manihot utilissima Pohl) -- kuamirimakõke --, and sweet potatoes
249 (Ipomoea batatas Lam.) -- hikarĩ -- (384). Worth mentioning
243

384. The Waiká call the sweet potato "higali" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 153).

also are the sugar cane plantings (sugar cane (Saccharum officinale) -- bukũ -- (385)) and the absence of maize (386).

385. The Waiká have the same word for sugar cane (Zerries, 1956b, p. 153).

[184] 386. Zerries, to be sure, found evidence of its cultivation by the Waiká. But, he adds, maize "is little more than a rare delicacy" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 153).

2: Becher--176 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái

249 /82/ Besides the cultivated plants used for food, some are raised to be used for enjoyment. These are primarily tobacco (Nicotiana tabacum) -- peenáke -- (387) and a pepper plant (Piperacea sp.) --

387. The Waiká word for this is "be" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 154).

maxarahá -- (388) which is required for making the narcotic

• [184] 388. This plant is also cultivated by the Waiká and is designated by almost the same name "masho hara" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 154).

snuff-powder (see pp. 192), as well as -- perakí -- (389)

389. The Waiká call this pepper plant "blaki" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 154).

(Piper caudatum Vahl.), Portuguese pimenta-dos-índios, with which they spice their food.

249 824 Finally, the cultivation of plants yielding important required articles should be mentioned. These are arrow cane (Sagittaria montevidensis Cham. et Schl.) -- xerekaíbe --, the urucuzeíro (Bixa orellana L.), from whose seeds, found in a thorny capsule, the red coloring matter urucú -- nará -- is obtained (see p. 122), as well as a Bignoniaceae (Crescentia cujete Lin.) and Cucurbitaceae (Cucurbita lagenaria L. and Cucurbita idolatrica Lacerda), the fruits of which are used as vessels (see p. 114).

248 The cultivation of cotton (Gossypium barbadense or hirsutum) -- xinarí -- is of comparatively recent date.

252 [462] 8. Preparation of Food

The preparation of solid food is almost exclusively in the hands of the women, but the roasting of game is reserved for the men (390). There are two methods of doing this: The simplest

[171] 390. According to Baldus, this prerogative

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

/83 cont./

252
412
[177]
[123]
[192]

396. (cont.)
a few graters out of the sides of our empty gasoline cans by boring numerous holes in them with a nail. They were very happy over these and maintained that it was considerably more agreeable to grate on them. They also immediately had a name for this grater -- kabaricinamő.

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● 184
412

397. The Xiriâna, too, grate the manioc roots on rough slabs of granite (Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 308).

252 The grated pulp is then pressed out by hand with the help of small, square strips of plaiting (see p. 112), which are rolled up (398).

398. The poison is removed from the manioc pulp in the same way among the Xiriâna (Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 308).

Among the Surára I found three tube presses and among the Pakidái five, which they had obtained from the Xiriâna (see p. 112). With the flour the women bake, on large, flat granite stones under which a fire is kindled, manioc flat-cakes, which are consumed with pleasure. This food, which appeared among them only a comparatively short time ago, seems to become
273 more and more popular. The preparation of kaschirí is unknown (399).

[114]
[177]

399. Since, however, my servant, a pure-blooded Tukano /Tucano/ Indian, felt a great desire for a slight alcoholic intoxication at the sight of the manioc flat-cakes, he taught the Surára how to make kaschirí. At first they tried this unknown drink very critically. But after the first swallow their eyes shone, and they slapped Mateus on the shoulder enthusiastically and assured him again and again how good it tasted to them.

/84 cont./

272 are kneaded and pulverized in calabashes filled with water. This produces a grayish-brown, greasy juice which, after the fleshy husks have been fished out and thrown away, reminds one of cacao in appearance and flavor and is extremely filling. This drink tasted even better to me when I added a little sugar. [123] [263] The Indians who tasted this, however, were not enthusiastic about the addition, since they like sugar just as little as salt. I was unable to please either children or adults with my bonbons. The fruit of the bacu buriti, curauá, piaçaba, and ubim palms (see p. 166) is made into beverages in the same way, while that of the inaja palm is cooked beforehand. The juice obtained from this tastes quite insipid, to be sure, but likewise has a high food value.

One should also mention that a drink is prepared from the gathered honey by mixing it with water. I never saw it eaten, [114] [184] [171] as has been confirmed for the Waiká (407) and various /85/ other

407. Zerries, 1956b, p. 150.

tribes of Guiana (408) (409).

408. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 55.

409. Richard Schomburgk, 1848, II, p. 169.

271 184 As the above account shows, the Surára and Pakidái do not lack variety with regard to beverages, so that only in the rarest instances need they resort to plain water, as is the case, according to Zerries' accounts, among the Waiká (410). As among

273 184

410. Zerries, 1958c, p. 177.

the latter (411), however, alcoholic beverages are completely

411. Zerries, 1958c, p. 177.

unknown to the Surára and Pakidái too.

Surára
Pakidái

/86 cont./

231 But their enmity was expressed to an even greater degree between each other, that is to say, between the dogs of the post personnel and those of the Pakidái, for if they merely saw each other, they were immediately at each other's throats.

174 231 With regard to the origin of these two breeds of dogs, which have probably been raised for centuries by the Surára and Pakidái, nothing definite can as yet be said. The first breed mentioned by me, which seems to resemble our shepherd dog, seems to be a quite typical Indian dog, for it corresponds exactly to the description which Friederici gives of a genuine Indian dog: "The general appearance of the pure Indian dog, so far as one can tell from descriptions and drawings, is a picture of the German shepherd dog, the so-called Thuringian strain, with somewhat more of the wild-dog character and with rough or bristly hair" (417). Friederici

417. Friederici, 1899, p. 362.

was concerned here, to be sure, with the Indian dog of North America, but, according to Alexander von Humboldt, this breed was already confirmed for Guiana in pre-Columbian times, as may be seen from the following quotation: "...nevertheless it has been confirmed that before the conquest in Peru, New Grenada and Guiana there was a breed of dog similar to our shepherd /87/ [184] dogs" (418). Among the Waiká, Zerries, strangely enough, did not

418. Alexander von Humboldt, 1890, IV, p. 189.

come across this type of dog, but only the small, short-haired one that resembles the fox terrier, and he suspects that they are in part still descended from the dogs that came with the first immigrants from Asia by way of the Bering Strait about 15,000 years ago (419).

419. Zerries, 1956b, p. 151.

The following account by Franz Termer, however, shows that definite proof is lacking for the latter assumption. The scholar

/87 cont./

231 In the evening the monkeys climb the tallest trees in order to spend the night in their crowns, and the birds, too, occasionally fly away. But all the animals come back, for, of course, they were tamed when small and are very attached to the Indians, who /88/ always treat them affectionately. They take the trouble, with great patience, to train the parrots and parakeets to talk, and they are happy when the first results appear.

11. Luxuries

27b

The Surára and Pakidái use only two luxuries, tobacco -- peenáke -- and a snuff powder -- epená. The former serves for profane purposes and the latter exclusively for ritual use.

Tobacco is not smoked, however. The leaves are pulverized in the green state, mixed with wood ashes and water or saliva, and twisted between the hands into small rolls. These are then inserted between the lower or upper lip and the teeth, where they are sucked. Both sexes, including children, indulge in this enjoyment, which also is connected with a very practical purpose, for, as a result, the Indians are able to walk around all day in the forest without feeling hungry or thirsty; but their attractive faces are quite distorted by the tobacco roll (Ill. 41).

[184] [824] Tobacco is used in the same way among the Waiká, but here, according to Zerries' account, the roll is inserted only between the lower lip and the teeth (426) (427). The investigator

426. Zerries, 1956b, p. 154.

427. Zerries, 1958c, p. 180.

named also mentions the occasional use of wild plants as substitutes in case tobacco is lacking (428) (429). Among the Surára

428. Zerries, 1956b, p. 154.

429. Zerries, 1958c, p. 180.

/88 cont./

276 and Pakidái I was unable to learn anything with reference to this, although there, too, the consumption of tobacco is uncommonly
[249] great. They plant plenty of tobacco in all the forest clearings, however, and if it were entirely harvested in the fields where they were living at the time, the men fetch it from other distant rocas or in emergencies they obtain it from friendly tribes by barter.

•[184] [114] Koch-Grünberg reports that the Xiriána and Waiká hordes visited by him chew the tobacco (430). From his description, how-

430. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 311.

ever, it is to be seen that actually a sucking of the tobacco is
276 also involved. The Arekuná on the Roroima probably also did the
171 same thing, although Richard Schomburgk (431) and Appun (432)
114

431. Richard Schomburgk, 1848, II, p. 239.

432. Appun, 1871, p. 521.

agree in speaking of "tobacco chewing." It is noteworthy that Koch-Grünberg (433) did not observe this form of tobacco enjoyment

433. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 57.

among any other tribe in the Roroíma region, for on the occasion of his visits the men smoked the tobacco as cigarettes or in short English pipes which were imported from British Guiana; he never saw women smoke.

123 If I offered the Surára and Pakidái cigarettes, they first
276 always removed the paper and enjoyed the tobacco in the same way as their cultivated tobacco. Yet they were not very enthusiastic about it, for in their opinion the cigarette tobacco was much too weak. In time, however, men and children became accustomed to smoking (434), but not the women.

434. As a result of this, our supply of cigarettes rapidly dwindled, and my

/88 cont./

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434. (cont.)
servant Mateus and I were thereafter dependent on the cultivated tobacco of the Indians, which, however, was so strong that we simply could not enjoy it. Mateus, however, had the happy idea of washing the tobacco several times and then he let it dry in the sun. Since we had plenty of cigarette paper with us, we were not obliged to give up our customary enjoyment of cigarettes. We could never have become accustomed to sucking out the tobacco, for every attempt resulted in retching.

276 The narcotic snuff powder, similar to yopo or paricá, is made up of various ingredients, of which I was able to identify, besides the roasted and pulverized paricá seed (Piptadenia peregrina Benth.), the ashes of the burned bark of a wild species of mimosa (Mimosa acacioides?) -- hekurâhihenâ -- (435), as

[192]
[776]
[787]

435. This, it should be noted, contains the word with which the gigantic animal and plant spirits are called -- hekurâ -- with which the men are able to make contact only by means of the snuff powder.

well as a cultivated pepper plant /89/ (Piperacea sp.) -- maxarahâ -- (436) (437).

[192]
[184]

436. Zerries found the same combination among the Waiká, and even the names for the pepper plant are almost identical; the Waiká call it "masho hara." The bark of the mimosa, in which Zerries suspects there is an alkaloid, is, however, used only in the dried or roasted state (Zerries, 1956b, p. 154).

[126]

437. Herr Prof. Dr. Klaus Soehring of the

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[184]

/89 cont./

Among the Waikâ, this taking of snuff is done in the same way (438). The Tuparí (439) and numerous other tribes of western

438. Zerries, 1955b, p. 665.

439. Caspar, 1953, pp. 151 ff.

South America (440) also indulge in this custom, though the com-

440. Gillin, 1948, p. 855.

[415]

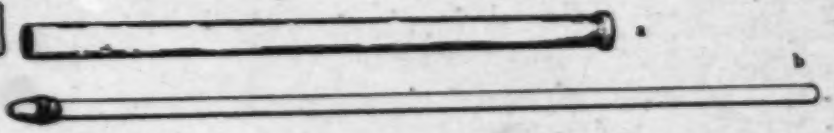

Fig. 28a. Bamboo tube for storing snuff-powder.

Fig. 28b. Bamboo snuff-tube.

position of the powder, except for the paricá or Piptadenia seeds, seems to differ from tribe to tribe. Cooper, moreover, in a comparative study of the taking of Piptadenia snuff, comes to the conclusion that this is a "western trait" /cited in English/ (441).

[114]

441. Cooper, 1949, pp. 536-538 and Map 10.

Surára. Pakidái Waica

/92 cont./ and children, bear names of plants or animals (see pp. 138/139). This results in a symbiosis which at the same time furnishes proof of the alter-ego motif to be found here. If a person who has passed the third year of life dies, an animal or plant of the species whose name he bore must likewise be killed or its death be brought about. This is done so that, for the long journey to the moon, the soul of the deceased has a companion who leads the way and facilitates for it entrance into the paradisiac realm of the dead (see also p. 149).

/93/ If the chiefs, who, of course, are at the same time medicine men, or other male members of the tribe wish to make contact with the nature spirits, either in connection with curing the sick, before or after hunting expeditions, on the occasion of prayers of thanksgiving for a successful harvest, etc., they have another man blow narcotic powder into the nose with a bamboo tube and immediately afterwards fall into a state of intoxication in which they feel themselves to be giants among giants (see p. 193). Thus, it is understandable that in a snuff-powder intoxication they identify themselves with the hekurá and use a very similar sounding word -- rekurá -- for any magical performance.

If one compares the beliefs of the Surára and Pakidái with those of the related Waikâ /Waica/, who were studied by Otto Zerries, Meinhard Schuster, and the American Missionary James Paul Barker (448) (449a) (449b), one finds that they are largely

448. Zerries, 1958a.

449a. Zerries, 1958b.

449b. Barker, 1953.

in accord in their basic features.

All the tribes mentioned believe in a Supreme Being, Poré or "Omawa," respectively, and ascribe to it the creation of the earth and all living creatures. To be sure, there are certain differences, which may, however, be traced back to external influences. Thus, Poré is brought into relationship with the moon --

Surára
Pakidái
Waica

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821 /93 cont./ Thus, Pore is brought into relationship with the moon-
Perimbó -- and with the latter forms an inseparable unity (450).

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450. This conception, which seems rather strange and in which Josef Haekel therefore thinks he sees a contradiction (Haekel, 1959, p. 40), is, however, also confirmed for the Uitoto /Witoto/, for Preuss writes about it, among other things: "We thus have here the rare instance in which, through a combination of the god of the earth and a moon demon, a single deity has arisen, a sort of monotheism, alongside of which there are only very insignificant demons" (Preuss, 1922, p. 176). And elsewhere he states: "The fact that moon and Supreme Being here coincide may therefore have come about later, but not necessarily. Today we have them as an inseparable unity" (Preuss, 1922, p. 184).

whereas "Omaua," together with a helper, "Yoaua," lives in the western sky, where they too produce rain, in that they pour the water out of the two celestial rivers (451). In contrast to this

451. Zerries, 1958b, p. 280.

among the Surára and Pakidái it is believed that Poré shakes the rain-tree of the moon (see p. 199).

821 Great significance is also attached to the moon by the
184 Waiká, and, significantly enough, also in connection with the
773 creation of human beings. This may be seen from their legend of primitive times (452), which, except for minor deviations,

452. Zerries, 1958b, p. 280.

corresponds to the one which the Surára chief Hewemão told me

2: Becher--203 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái
Waiká

821
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/93 cont./

(see pp. 247-248) (453). As a further parallel, the leg-birth

453. With reference to this, however, among the Waiká there is a second conception that the first human beings came to the earth in the rain (Zerries, 1958b, p. 281). Hence they must have come out of the western sky where, to be sure, Omaua lives and produces rain. Zerries, however, thinks it possible that this rain is identical with the blood of the wounded moon and refers to a Uitoto myth as a parallel (Zerries, 1958b, p. 281). In this myth the monthly blood of the daughter of the organizer of the festival of the animals is seen as a fine, cold rain, which Preuss interprets as the flood in miniature, which appears with the dark of the moon; it corresponds to the menses (Preuss, 1921, pp. 113-115).

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As a further parallel, the leg-birth should be mentioned. According to the Surára and Pakidái version, the first four men and a woman came from the leg of a small bird at definite intervals (see p. 247), while, according to the one of the Waiká, the first woman came out of the pregnant leg of a man (454) (455). Both myths, however, have

454. Zerries, 1958b, p. 280.

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455. Conceptions of leg-births are confirmed also for other South American tribes. Thus, among the Tukuna /Tucuna/ the tribal heroes Dyoi and Epi, together with their two sisters, spring from the knees, swollen by wasp stings, of the male Nutapa (Nimuendajú, 1952, p. 122), and among the Umutina, who unfortunately no

Surára Pakidái Waiká

/93 cont./

773 191

455. (cont.)
longer exist as a tribal unit, it is believed that civilized people and hostile Indian tribes came out of the inflamed and swollen calves of the first man, Aipuku (Oberg, 1953, p. 108).

773 134 the polyandrous feature in common, for the woman had a boy (Surára and Pakidái) (see p. 247) or several children (Waiká)(456)

456. Zerries, 1958b, p. 280.

by the men.

776 174 184 /94/ In the religious world of thought of the Waiká one also finds ideas that are very contradictory. Thus, "Omaua" is regarded, on the one hand, as the Supreme Being and creator of the earth and of mankind, and, on the other hand, is thought of as an actual enemy of the Waiká who is closely linked with alien tribes in the west and with the whites, as well as with their pernicious influences, diseases, puzzling cultural possessions [782] (motor, gasoline, etc.) (457). Furthermore, it is noteworthy

457. Zerries, 1958b, p. 286.

that in white and black magic "Omaua" is directly invoked (458)

458. Zerries, 1958b, p. 286.

(the Surára and Pakidái communicate with Poré/Perimbó only through intermediaries), and that there lives with him a cannibalistic creature, "Omayali," which, according to Zerries, presumably represents a hypostasis of the former (459). He believes,

776 174 171

459. Zerries, 1958b, p. 280.

however, that "Omaua-Omayali" is an import from another culture

Surára
Pakidái
Waiká

/95 cont./

796 exactly as among the Surára and Pakidái; moreover, the corre-
191 spondence between the names Aboré and Poré is especially great. The supplying of cultural possessions is also attributed to the deities in each case. In the Warrau myth it is even said that Aboré fled before Wowáh into the land of the whites, from whence he provided his fellow tribesmen with import articles (481).

481. Brett, 1880, pp. 84 ff.

794 The idea that there are gigantic prototypes of each animal
191 and plant species also exists among other South American tribes. Zerries has already worked out the connections for this and has cited several investigators who confirmed identical or similar views for various Indian peoples, among them Arawak, Mura, tribes of the Chaco, Karaiben in Guiana (Arekuná-Taulipang /Arecuna/, Cavina and Tumupasa Indians of northeastern Bolivia, Cayapa in Ecuador, and Yaruro in Venezuela (482).

482. Zerries, 1951, pp. 149/50.

794 The conception of the Yaruro in particular shows corre-
171 sponding parallels, according to Petrullo's description (483).
114

483. Petrullo, 1939, p. 237.

For the Karaiben tribe Arekuná, Koch-Grünberg, to be sure, does not find any evidence of gigantic plant spirits, but their idea of the animal spirits is very similar; here they are called "podole" = father (484).

484. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 187.

793 If one then compares the myths which deal with happen-
● 184 ings on the already created earth, one is struck by the fact that among the Waiká the transformations of human beings into land animals cover a wide range (485). The same is true among the

485. Zerries, 1958b, p. 283.

Surára Pakidai Waica

/85 cont./

793 Surára and Pakidái, but here in addition there are also such for
●184 the animals themselves, and, to be sure, smaller ones are always transformed into larger ones (see p. 251). The myth of the creation of the ant bear, in which Omaua or Poré transforms a man who has committed incest with his mother-in-law into this animal by magic, is familiar to the Waiká (486), as well as to

486. Zerries, 1958b, p. 285.

the Surára and Pakidái, in the same version (see p. 250).

794 Likewise synonymous is the system of the species-spirits
184 of animals and plants, hekurá (Surára and Pakidái), or "hekula" (Waiká) (487), which is closely connected with the medicine-man system.

487. Zerries, 1958b, pp. 286/87.

794
795 Of interest, finally, are comparisons concerning the con-
184 ception of the human soul. It can ascend to the moon (Surára
[124] and Pakidái) or to heaven (Waiká) (488) only if the corpse is

488. Zerries, 1958a, p. 105.

cremated, for its name, uwexík (Surára and Pakidái), or "nobolebe" (Waiká) (488) /see footnote above/, is identical with that of cloud, smoke. According to the view of the Surára and Pakidái, the soul exists in the bones (see p. 151) (489).

[171]

489. In this respect they correspond to many other tribes, for in his essay "Die Antropophagie der südamerikanischen Indianer /The Anthropophagy of the South American Indians/," Koch (Grünberg) writes: "All these practices show that the Indian, incapable of separating the physical from the spiritual, regards the bones, which alone remain after the corpse has decomposed, as the actual and ultimate seat of the soul" (Koch (Grünberg), 1899, p. 83).

Surára, Pakidái, Waica

/95 cont./

That is why they cremate only /96/ the skeleton of their dead, for if the flesh were still present, the soul would be unable to come out in time. The ceremonial drinking of the bone ashes, too, on the occasion of the annual festival in memory of the dead, is connected with the idea that strengthening remains of the soul are still present in them. In this connection Zerries writes with reference to the Waiká: "We were unable to find the idea of a bone-soul among the Waika, if we disregard the connection between bone ashes and bole" (490). Zerries also

490. Zerries, 1958a, p. 107.

points out that the soul, according to the view of the Waiká, is peculiar only to the human being, but not to the animal (491).

491. Zerries, 1958a, p. 108.

According to the statements of the Surára and Pakidái chiefs, however, the human soul of the dead on its journey to the moon must be accompanied by a like-named animal or plant soul of the dead, which serves as a guide (see pp. 149/150). It is assumed by the Surára and Pakidái that children are without a soul until they have completed the third year of life, because during this time they are nursed by the mother and thus still belong to her flesh and blood as well as to her soul (see also pp. 138 and 154). Waiká children are said to receive their souls only after the completion of the sixth year of life (492).

492. Zerries, 1958a, p. 106.

Surára
Pakidái
Waiká

/107 cont./

769 in his place. The wife then massaged the head of the exhausted
526 one, so that he would quickly be ready to resume. The chiefs
[622] and war chiefs in particular distinguished themselves in this
[624] type of sport. They also fought the longest, some of them with
[147] five, six, and more opponents; they had positively unbelievable strength and endurance.

These combats, in which one man always symbolically represented the good spirit, that is, a hekurá, and the other, who had smeared himself with soot, the evil spirit, a nonexí (see pp. 213 ff., 225 ff.), lasted almost two hours. After
[762] that the men were completely exhausted and refreshed themselves with a new, joint meal of tapir meat and manioc flat-
[276] cakes. Afterwards, however, many of the participants suffered from severe headaches brought on by the snuff-powder in connection with the inhuman physical exertion, so that many wives were obliged to massage their husbands' heads.

769 In the evening there was another half-hour procession in the maloka courtyard, when all the little jamaru vessels in which remains of bone ashes were stored were carried along. This retention of a certain amount of ashes is very important, so that the next festival in memory of the dead can be held, even though no member of the tribe /108/ dies up to that time. It could not take place without any bone ashes of deceased Surára or Pakidái.

769 If one compares this annual festival with that of the Waiká,
114 which was described by Zerries in great detail (515), one finds
184

515. Zerries, 1955b, pp. 662-665.

extensive analogies in the most important phases. Zerries believes that among the Waiká it was originally a harvest festival to which other rites of various kinds were added (516).

516. Zerries, 1955b, p. 662.

For the Surára and Pakidái, on the other hand, it can definitely be said that here there are no features reminiscent of a harvest festival.

2: Becher--235 . E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Surára, Pakidái Waica

/108 cont./

769 182 184 789 526 [266]

festival. It is decidedly a festival in memory of the dead, which characterized by the ceremonial drinking of the bone ashes of deceased members of the tribe. At the same time, defensive magic against the nonexí is connected with it, for they, of course, are the ones who transmit sickness and thereby frequently cause death. As in all the magic cures for healing the sick, where the symbolic struggles between the "hekurá" and one or more "nonexí" are always enacted (see pp. 212 ff.), this factor is naturally also in evidence in all parts of the festival, in the dances, in the mixing of bone ashes, when the medicine man pulls down-feathers of the gavião-real out of the hair of the warriors and adds these, and in the duels performed in a sitting position. The latter are also documented for the Waiká in the same way, but Zerries writes that neither for him nor for the American missionaries was it possible to find out anything definite about the meaning of this ceremony (517). Presumably,

517. Zerries, 1955b, p. 665.

however, it is the same symbolic struggle between a good and an evil spirit as among the Surára and Pakidái. As yet nothing has been reported about this from other Indian tribes. My informants, however, told me that the Xiriána, Puseheweterí, and Aramamesterí engage in these combats on the occasion of their festivals in memory of the dead. Hence it seems to be a very special characteristic of the Yanonámi, which in former times may have been even more widespread. Herr Dr. Gerdt Kutscher, in connection with a lecture I gave in Berlin, called my attention to the fact that the position taken by the two men during this is reminiscent of the painting on a clay bowl from the Rio Ulúa, Honduras (518). According to Zerries, Barker,

114 769 526

518. This is in the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde (No. IVa Ca 22381) and was reproduced in an article by Walter Lehmann (Lehmann, 1910, p. 737, Ill. 9).

Surára
Pakidái
Waiká

114 /108 cont./ According to Zerries, Barker,
769 and Dupouy, there is also a similar combat among the Waiká,
184 in which the partners alternately beat each other on the chest
562 with clenched fists (519a, b, c). I did not observe this among
● 184

519a. Zerries, 1955b, p. 665.

519b. Barker, 1953, p. 447.

519c. Dupouy, 1953, p. 495.

114 the Surára and Pakidái. Similarly unknown there is the custom,
769 also reported by Zerries, that the men, when they run about in
276 the snuff-powder intoxication, hit each other on the back with the
palm of the hand (520). The author named regards this as a

520. Zerries 1955b, p. 665.

769 fertility rite. There seems to be involved here, however, out-
787 side influences of agricultural tribes, which is indicated also by
179 the ceremonial gathering of pupunha fruits (521).

521. Zerries, 1955b, p. 665.

769 It is further noteworthy that among the Waiká women and
184 girls actively participate in the festival in that they take part in
562 some dances and even drink some of the banana soup mixed with
[266] bone ashes (522). In contrast to this, the female members of

522. Zerries, 1955b, pp. 662 ff.

the tribe act only as spectators among the Surára and Pakidái.

769 The endocannibalism should be regarded as a very signifi-
184 cant similar trait. It is documented for the Waiká by Cruxent (523a)
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523a. Cruxent, 1953a, pp. 149/50.

Surára
Pakidái
Waiká

/108 cont./

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and Zerries in several articles (523b) (524) (525). Moreover,

523b. Zerries, 1955a, p. 80.

524. Zerries, 1955b, pp. 664/65.

525. Zerries, 1956a, p. 185.

769
266
171

Moreover,
/109/ the latter author, on the basis of contributions to the first five volumes of the Handbook of South American Indians, drew up a distribution map for the occurrence of endocannibalism, which was supplemented by numerous examples (526). Accord-

526. Zerries, 1955a, pp. 80/81.

ing to this, endocannibalism occurs in South American primarily in the western parts of the continent and among the marginal and submarginal tribes of the Tropical zone. This custom is particularly frequent among the Pano and Tukano /Tucano/. In most cases, besides the pulverized bones, which are mixed with chicha (for example, Pano and Tukano), water (for example, Tapuya), or a mash of Pará chestnuts (Moré Indians), the flesh is also eaten. The practice of the Surára, Pakidái, and Waiká, on the other hand, who consume only the cremated, pulverized bones, is very rarely found. The corresponding custom of the Sáliba, Guayupe, and Saé in Colombia is the most similar one. But in eastern Guiana, too, endocannibalism is widespread, for example, among the Karaiben /Carib/ Parukotó (527) and

527. Frikel, 1957, pp. 520 and 545.

among the Arapium, a Tupi tribe in the vicinity of Santarem (528).

528. Zerries, 1955a, p. 81.

Moreover, it is reported of the Kalina, Palikur, and Arawak that they consume cremated bones of the dead (529). Of the latter

529. de Goeje, 1943, p. 11.

/179 cont./

619 [624] [596] Each subtribe is composed of a certain number of local groups which form a band of extended families and provide the peculiar characteristics of the group to which they belong, thus enriching the cultural patrimony of the subtribe. In this way we know the Casapare, Sanemá, Waica, and Samatari as subtribes of the Yanoama, while the Pakidai and Surara appear to represent two local groups of the Samatari or of a subtribe whose name we do not know.

As local groups of the Sanemá we can mention the: Nabadub of the Ventuari, the Pubmatari of the Caranakuni, the Taclaudub in the region of the source of the Caura, and others whom we shall mention in the demographic section.

[184] [194] From what has been published up to the present regarding the Yanoama subtribes, we can gather that there exist among them more or less marked cultural differences, but it is also easy to demonstrate that these differences merely represent variants of one and the same cultural pattern, in spite of the fact that these divergences would correspond basically to a separation between these subtribes which would vary between 600 years as a minimum and 3,500 years as a maximum.

127 128 In order to facilitate the study of the distribution of the Yanoama subtribes, we have put together the over-all map /see pp. 40-43/ which illustrates the present work. The data referring to the Surara and Pakidai settlements have been taken from the study by Becher (1960), who located them between the Demini and Aracá rivers in Brazil. The location of the Samatari of Brazil corresponds to the map published by Seitz (1960), and that of the Samatari of Venezuela to one drawn up by the Malariología, placed between the Waica on the upper Orinoco across from the mouth of the tributary Mavaca. From this latter source we have also taken the anthropogeographic data on the Waica and on the Sanemá of the Padamo. The reference map has been drawn up according to [797] empirical data from the personnel of the Malariología, which were collected with the collaboration of the missionaries of this zone, above all, with that of Mr. James Barker of the New Tribes Mission, who has close contact with the Indians of this region.

Y 174 101 /189 cont./ The expansion of the Sanemá to the north, that is, from the Padamo to the upper Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura, is relatively recent, but, to judge from the data given us by glottochronology, the separation of the various groups of the subtribe corresponds to 600-1,700 years. We established contact with three northern groups of the Sanemá: the Nabudub of the upper Ventuari, the Taclaudub of the upper Caura, and the Pubmatari of the Canaracuni. They apparently represent Sanemá groups which are quite well established, and the internal distance of this linguistic family is, in a way, surprising.

Y 101 ● 184 The Sanemá of the Padamo and of the upper Orinoco are practically unknown to science, and it is expected that the cultural difference between them and their brothers who live north of 4° and in close contact with the Makiritare is relatively pronounced.

Y 101 648 167 The geographic separation of the Sanemá into a southern group and another northern one is recent and is due to the fact that in 1947 Captain Cardona had to make a landing field on the Canaracuni (personal communication), and, since there were no Indians in the zone to help him in his venture, he went to Brazil and brought the first Sanemá to this region of Venezuela.

Y 167 This date marks the beginning of the infiltration of the Yanoama element on a larger scale into the land of the Makiritare, their neighbors on the northwest, with whom they have lived in deep

Y M 643 enmity from remote times. While the Makiritare of the Cunucunuma still do not tolerate large groups of Yanoama in their territory, those of the Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura live in close contact

Y M [177] with large groups of the Sanemá subtribe. This was the way in which Makiritare culture of the tropical selva type penetrated to that essentially /190/ preagricultural tribe composed of hunters

Y M 648 and gatherers with a very rudimentary culture. The Sanemá received extremely bad treatment at the hands of the Makiritare, comparable to that received by a slave at the hands of his master, for which reason toward the year 1950 the Sanemá revolted against

4 [411] the Makiritare and declared a war without quarter against them. It was then that the different Makiritare subtribes united to repulse the Sanemá, whom they conquered in various encounters, thanks to their fire-arms.

/202 cont./

372 They make fire by the rotation method, and the sticks which they use in this process are carried with them tied to the quiver (cf. Barker, 1953, p. 462, Fig. 6). If the camp is situated at a relatively short distance, the women carry a piece of lighted firewood upon which they blow on the way so that it will not go out. Fire is a source of light and heat in the rancherías, and they keep it burning all night long to protect themselves from the cold, from evil spirits, and from dangerous animals.

283 The Sanemá women spin cotton by means of a spindle which they roll on the thigh. The cord is twisted with three threads.

286 301 294 352 They do not weave and use the thread only to make ornaments, guayucos /loincloths/, and sometimes hammocks /hamacas/ and güenepes. The baskets that they manufacture are well made and are very useful for carrying the products of the conuco, firewood, and sometimes large pots made of baked clay; the method that they employ to make baskets (twining) is primitive, common to the marginal peoples of South America. The Sanemá make pottery vessels, conical in shape, but their method is very primitive. The most common container is the gourd.

285 [323] 323 415

412 [237] A cutting implement (gouging tool) which is widely used is the knife made with agouti teeth. It is used exclusively by the men and is made by attaching an incisor of the rodent to a small stick 10 centimeters long by means of gum and a fine plant-fiber. The men carry it in the quiver, under their arm ornament, or, as we saw on the upper Ventuari, in the opening of the ear lobe. With this instrument they make arrows; it is used to mount the point or to open the lower end of the shaft where the peg, provided with a groove for the bowstring, is inserted. The groove is also made with the tooth knife. Becher (1960, p. 54) reports that jealous Surará and Pakidai men sometimes use it to wound their wives, and an informant from the Erebato told us that they also used it to gouge out the eyes of enemy men who had been captured and identified as murderers of a member of the group. The Indian said that once they have gouged out the eyes they free their victims, who die a few days later in the forest. The knife is sharpened with a stone. This type of primitive knife has been found in most of the Yanoama subtribes: Waika

[593] [727] [184]

/202 cont./

412 (Zerries, 1956a), Casapare (Koch-Grünberg, 1923, p. 313 and Pl.
● [184] 47), Karimé (Salathé, 1931-32, p. 306 and Figure 16), Surará and Pakidai (Becher, 1960, p. 54). The handle of the knife,
[171] relatively short, may be made of wood or of a simple piece of bone; it is in style also among the Guayakí (Hitte, /203/ 1897, Pl. III, Figures 4 and 6) and the Sirionó (Holmberg, 1950, p. 14), both tribes with a primitive culture.

[237] In order to smooth their bows, the Sanemá use the tusk of a
[197] peccary. Before the introduction of iron axes they used stone axes, which are still found among them, although rarely.

The most important weapon of the Sanemá is the bow and
411 arrow. The bow, plano-convex, 2-2.10 meters, is made of
[824] macanilla wood. In the middle it measures 2-3 centimeters in width, which tapers to 0.5 centimeter at the ends. The bowstring is made of plant fibers. The different classes of arrows which they use are distinguished according to the different points that they have. Their total length varies between 1.60 meters and 2.40 meters (cf. Méndez-Arocha, 1960, pp. 54-60). This latter trait of having arrows of this length is another characteristic of the nomadic Indians of the Tropical Forest. The arrow points vary according to the game that they wish to hunt. The bamboo point, lance-shaped, is for large game; for medium-sized and small animals they use arrows whose point is made of monkey bone. There is another point of wood which they poison with curare and which they use as a weapon of war (cf. Koch-Grünberg, 1923, Pl. 47; Becher, 1960, p. 18). The lower part of the arrow is provided with two halves of a turkey feather, in the manner typical of the tribes of Guayana.

[627] Another weapon for combat is the club 1.50-2.50 meters in length and of heavy wood, which they use to settle local fights and which reminds one of the clubs of the Botocudo of Brazil.

291 Sanemá dress is the simplest. Both sexes wear a cord tied about the waist. The men carry the penis fastened up by the prepuce. Among the Nabudub we saw several women who wore no clothing other than the above-mentioned cord; most of the Sanemá, however, use a guayuco of cotton thread, dyed with onoto and in the same manner as the type Becher describes (1960,

/209/

273 The beverage of the Sanemá is water. They do not make
271 alcoholic beverages. In recent times the Sanemá who live in
177 contact with the Makiritare have learned to prepare cashíri, and they are beginning to drink it with some frequency. Nevertheless, the preparation of alcoholic beverages is not common among the Sanemá and Yanoama in general.

252 The greater part of their food is toasted or broiled in the
263 coals. They do not eat salt, properly speaking, but they use
261 wood ashes and peppers. They also clean dry clay and eat it.

276 As stimulants they have tobacco and yopo. They do not smoke, but rather roll up the tobacco leaves, and, after treating them with ashes, they put them in back of the lower lip. The yopo is made with certain leaves and ashes of bark. It seems that they have several kinds, according to the degree of strength. They showed us a gray type and a black one. One who wishes to take a dose puts the intoxicating powder in a tube and a companion blows it into his nose. In general, yopo is re-
[764] lated to religious ideas. It appears that they take it at burial ceremonies when they accompany a deceased person and his "híkula upwards." The theurgists also use it frequently in their various ceremonies. There are known cases in which a man "flew off" with a strong dose of yopo and, losing his way, never came back to earth!

581 The founding of a family is the fervent desire of all the
183 young people of the tribe. We observed a degree of irregularity
591 in the custom of determining the matrimonial residence. In the
●184 Sanemá group of the Erebato, this seems to be bilocal, as among the Waica of the upper Orinoco (Barker, 1953, p. 478), while on the Ventuari we noticed a tendency toward unilocality. We
591 are not certain, but it would seem that normal residence is initially
182 matrilocal with postmatrimonial betrothal service and then changes
596 to bilocal. This arrangement brings about the formation of bilocal extended families in Yanoama society.

596 Societies with bilocal extended families are relatively
591 rare, but their existence among the Sanemá does not surprise us if we bear in mind that the economic situation of the tribe lends

/217 cont./

606 The husband helps economically the family of orientation of his wives, supplies them with produce from the conuco, but dealings with his wife's parents are reduced the most indispensable ones. When he meets his mother-in-law on the path, he changes his direction immediately, does not greet her, and would not dare to speak to her for anything. Between father-in-law and son-in-law there exists a cold friendship from which all manifestations of cordiality are absent. The same taboo exists between parents-in-law and daughter-in-law.

836 The Sanemá of the Erebato assured us that an unmarried young man could have sexual relations with all the unattached girls of his group and that very often the girls are the ones who [584] take the initiative in this. When a boy is attractive, he joins up with one or two girls, who /218/ in all frankness and good faith ask him to stay with them for a few nights more, offer him food, and hope that he will resolve to ask one of them to marry him.

593 It seems that in general women do not abandon their hus-
937 bands and confidently expect the spouse to behave in the same manner and not have extramarital sexual relations.

593 Frequently angry fights arise in the family out of passional
586 motives, to the point where the man no longer tolerates it and leaves the rancheria forever and eventually marries another woman in a distant pueblo.

595 Usually, only older men have several wives; polyandry
587 is not permitted. Widows, as a general rule, marry a brother of
607 the deceased husband, who takes his nieces and nephews under
[836] his protection. This custom does not cause any great problems, since the brother of the deceased has already had sexual intercourse with his sisters-in-law before marrying them, for he has
587 always considered them as possible wives. Nor do the children
593 find it difficult to accept their new father, whom they have al-
[601] ways called "father" and he has called them "children." In
[184] this way the Sanemá (and also the Waica, Surará, and Pakidai) are a society which allows polygamy, the sororate, and the levirate.

/221 cont./

765 775 that rises the nonmaterial part of the man ascends, his hikula and his soul and possibly something else which we do not yet understand. On occasion the owner of the hĭkula can be heard as he comes whistling to carry the hĭkula of the dead man to the place where all the others are to be found.

765 [276] [756] The men take great quantities of yopo and dance around the fire which relentlessly consumes the bones. They sing and dance all night long, while the relatives cry out against their neighboring enemies. The ceremony comes to an end in the morning, at which time the sablĭ pulls out the bones in order to pulverize them in a gourd.

[266] The gourd, covered with a leaf and containing the ashes which will be consumed in a broth of bananas during the forthcoming feast of the dead, is kept inside his house by a relative.

121 771 Our knowledge of the religion and mythology of the Sanemá is insufficient, for in order to study the supernatural world of a tribe it is necessary to know the culture thoroughly, since the latter, in multiple activities, is a reflection of the former, and, furthermore, to enjoy the absolute confidence of the Indian so that he may expose without subterfuge everything that may be of interest to the researcher. Nevertheless, taking as a point of departure the data which we were able to obtain and those which have been published by various authors of unquestionable reliability, we dare to take up the matter of the religious life of the Sanemá, because, despite the fact that there are many traits similar to those of the other subtribes of the Yanoama, in general there stand out certain specific elements which will give us a better understanding of the metaphysical world of the Yanoama.

793 756 791 Yanoama society seems to have three theurgists or religious practitioners, but each one belongs to and officiates in a different supernatural sphere.

793 776 The first of the three is the hɛwĭawán, or the priest, who is the intermediary between the human community and Omao. He belongs to the pueblo which he represents as much as he does to the court of Omao. He lives in both worlds and frequently changes residence.

484 plantains to eat en route. Most of the time they did not even carry their hammocks, as these could be easily manufactured from bark strips in a matter of minutes.

462 385 Women make several kinds of baskets, including ones to carry the family possessions when the group moves. When the entire village moves, progress is slow and only a few miles are covered each day. The reason for this is that 888 958 older people and those who are sick travel very slowly, 955 children must be carried by their parents, and food in large quantities must be transported to provision the moving group. Thus, a trip that a group of young men could easily make in one day would require two or three days if the entire village moved that distance.

415 323 The only non-portable[1] (as well as the only durable) item made by the Yąnomamö is a large, heavy, poorly fired 84 443 clay pot. These are manufactured by only a few villages, which serve as trading centers for this industry. They are 462 422 562 made by men and are their property since women are too clumsy to be permitted to handle and use them and would probably break them. When a pot does break, the fragments are used as mortars for grinding drugs, small stone celts, found in the woods by the Yąnomamö, serving as pestles. The larger fragments of a broken pot are used as cooking plates in the 199 manufacture of cassave bread. Despite the fact that most of the Yąnomamö villages have not been contacted directly, the

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[1] The pots are concealed in the garden when the group moves.

[Paruritawë-tedi Group]

It will be immediately apparent that the Shamatari village histories are more complicated than the one outlined for the Namowei-tedi. This stems from the fact that the Shamatari villages had reached a large size by 1900 and began splitting into smaller groups earlier, in terms of the data I collected, than did the Namowei-tedi. In other words, the splitting that characterized Namowei-tedi's population from about 1940 to 1955 was occurring in the Shamatari population in 1900. Although I do not have census data on the numerous Shamatari villages that subsequently emerged from the two initial groups, I suspect that the numbers of people involved are significantly larger for the Shamatari village histories. Two factors seem to be the cause of this phenomenon. First, the Shamatari villages had access to steel tools in considerable numbers before Namowei-tedi's ancestral population did; my informants asserted that their first source of steel tools was the group called Shihowë-tedi. Presumably the size of the populations involved is a function of their agricultural potentials, and the Shamatari apparently expanded earlier than the Namowei-tedi because they had access to steel tools sooner. Secondly, the Shamatari population expanded unopposed into virgin territory, whereas the Namowei-tedi expanded into territory already occupied by other Yąnomamö; it is significant to note that when the Namowei-tedi ultimately moved into unoccupied territory, their population seems to have increased, and the first split occurred only after virgin territory was colonized.[1]

[1] I am unable to explain how this affects demographic variables, but my data suggest that Yąnomamö populations expand more rapidly when they colonize virgin land.

likelihood that marriage practices will depart from the rules governing ideal marriage behavior, then we would expect a reduction in warfare to produce a reduction of this gap. A decrease in warfare should obviate the need for military alliances validated by exchanges of women; under such conditions marriage practice should conform more closely to preferential rules.

The Yąnomamö who live on the Upper Uraricoera and Uraricaá rivers of northern Brazil differ markedly in a number of traits from the Venezuelan Yąnomamö of the Mavaca basin considered in this thesis. A major point of difference is that among the former warfare is much less common than it is among the Yąnomamö described in the preceding chapters. It is likely that this reduction in warfare is partly due to more frequent contact of the Brazilian Yąnomamö with Carib-speaking Indian tribes (Makiritare and Arekuna) and, since 1958, with Christian missions. There appears to be a cline in the decreasing intensity of warfare from southwest, the area in which I conducted my field work, to northeast, the area from which these new data are drawn (see Map D, next page). Yąnomamö from the Upper Padamo River, an area about on the mid-point of this cline, told me that fighting with clubs was very rare in their villages. Migliazza[1] asserts that raiding between villages on the Uraricoera River occurs only every four or five years and is usually provoked by

[1]Personal communication.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 195]

accusations of sorcery or by the desire to abduct women.

Another major difference between the Uraricaá and the Mavaca Yąnomamö is the manner in which they treat extra-marital liaisons. On the Uraricaá, liaisons are tacitly permitted and fighting rarely develops between a man and his wife's lover. Should fighting occur, it is generally caused by some incident unrelated to the affair itself. In short, men permit their wives to have extra-marital affairs, provided the women are discreet.

Of major analytical significance is the fact that the Uraricaá Yąnomamö closely adhere to their rules of ambilateral cross-cousin marriage.[1] This stems from the fact that political alliances between villages there never involve the transfer of women from one group to the other. The Yąnomamö of the Uraricaá are endogamous within each congeries of villages having a common history. It would seem, therefore, that the absence of intensive warfare permits marriage practice to follow marriage rules.

The Uraricaá settlement pattern and village organization differ considerably from those found among the Yąnomamö of the Mavaca basin. What I have called a small village of 40 people among the latter segments, on the Uraricaá, into clusters of extended family units separated from each other by as much as half a mile (Migliazza, 1964). The village in which Migliazza lived, for example, comprised 80 persons

[1] Migliazza was not able to give me statistical data on actual marriage practices. I intend to collect this kind of information in January-February 1967 when I visit the Uraricaá area.

occupying five different sites, each having its own house and garden. These five groups recombined into a single unitary village only when warfare threatened. To the southwest of the Uraricaá area, in the headwaters of the Parima River, the villages tend to be larger and more nucleated. On the Upper Parima River villages have a permanent centralized site to which the dispersed extended families may retreat when raids are imminent. Warfare is more common in this area than on the Uraricaá. The Parima Mountains separate this group of Yąnomamö from those whose social organization is described in this thesis. Southwest of the Parima Mountains intensity of warfare is similar to that found in the Mavaca basin. Corresponding to this increase in intensity is a change in type of settlement: palisaded villages are general southwest of the Parima Mountains, whereas they are found only sporadically or not at all to the northeast.

There is likewise an apparent cline in population density isomorphic with the cline in warfare intensity. Yąnomamö villages in Brazil are progressively smaller and more widely scattered as one proceeds northeastward from the Parima Mountains. It is tempting to correlate the reduction in warfare intensity with the demographic pattern. However, another factor complicates the picture: the Yąnomamö have more contact with other tribes (Makiritare and Arekuna) in the northeast extension of their territory; in many cases they live in the same villages with these tribes. I suspect that the contact they have with the Carib-speaking groups also

contributes to the reduction in the intensity of warfare. This stems from the fact that the Caribs have long had access to firearms, and the Yąnomamö avoid attacking Carib villages. It is not likely that Yąnomamö villages settled close to or among Caribs would be raided by other Yąnomamö, for the Caribs would either defend their co-residents or provide them with firearms to retaliate. Certainly, I know of no cases of Yąnomamö villages mounting raids on other Yąnomamö who live near or among Carib Indians.

Throughout the thesis I have emphasized the causal relationship between the shortage of women and the development of hostilities within and between villages. The same relationship appears to hold in the Uraricaá area, as the following incident illustrates. The missionaries discovered that one of the Yąnomamö women had two husbands. They felt that this was an unacceptable situation and persuaded the woman that she should abandon one of the men. This man then could not find another eligible woman of the appropriate age and relationship to marry, so he organized a party of men to accompany him on a wife-hunting trip to a neighboring, but unrelated, village. On arriving he informed the people that he had come to teach them a new and powerful institution, prayer, which he had learned from the missionaries. He had his hosts kneel and bow their heads; then he and his companions fell upon them with machetes and killed them. The visitors seized the hosts' women and fled. In an area where warfare is rare, this incident indelibly underscores the

121 having such estates, particularly in those societies to
613 which real estate is totally irrelevant. The Yąnomamö
562 corporate estate consists entirely of rights in disposing
421 of female members belonging to that corporation. As such, males and females have different kinds of shares in the corporation. Males, on the average, tend to inherit more rights, while females tend to inherit more duties and obli-
[123] gations. Land to the Yąnomamö is not a scarce item, as they
[241] are pioneer slash-and-burn horticulturists expanding into
[124] virgin territory.[1] Myths, names and ritual functions do not comprise elements in these corporations.[2]

121 It would seem important to distinguish between lineal descent corporations which control property and those which do not, as Befu and Plotnicov (1962) have done. A further distinction, however, seems warranted on the basis of the data presented here: between societies having any corporate groups that control real property and societies that have corporate descent groups, none of which have control over property as their estate. The possession of real estate tends to reinforce the lineality of corporate descent groups in both dogma and composition,[3] and invites the addition of

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[1] This is true of the Mavaca Basin Yąnomamö. Elsewhere the Yąnomamö may not be pioneers, but land is not scare in those areas either.

[2] I am aware that the Yąnomamö have lineally transmitted totems; these have nothing to do with the descent group recruitment or its estate.

[3] See Meggitt, 1965, for an excellent account of the relationship of agnatic kinship, real property, and lineage

11: Chagnon S-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

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Fig. 2-7. Orozimi, Kaobawä's brother's daughter, making a hammock for trade with allies.

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nant, while other plants allegedly cure the same evils. Kaobawä's followers do not cultivate many of these malevolent magical plants; they claim, however, that the "Waikas"[6] use them extensively and blow harmful charms at their enemies through hollow tubes. The failure of Kaobawä's group to use magical plants in this fashion is cited as a distinguishing feature that sets it aside from other groups of Yanomamö.

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[6]The Yanomamö are sometimes referred to in the literature by such designations as Shiriana, Xirixana, Guaharibo, and Waika. The first three terms are foreign words meaning "howler monkey" and have been applied to the Yanomamö by their northern neighbors, the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians. A good deal of the early information came from the quite unreliable accounts travelers obtained from the Makiritare. The term "Waika," however, from the verb *waikai*, is a Yanomamö word meaning "to kill an animal (or man) that is already dying from a wound." Zerries (1964) used the term "*Waika*" in much the same sense that I am using the term "Yanomamö." *Waika*, however, is very ambiguous and imprecise. For example, members of village "A" will assert that members of village "B" are "Waikas." If you ask members of village "B" if they are Waikas, however, they will deny it and say they are Yanomamö, adding that the members of village "C" are Waikas. When you question members of village "C," you will get the same answer: The Waikas live in the next village, only Yanomamö live here. Nevertheless, the term does have currency in the villages near the headwaters of the Orinoco River. One of my informants claimed that the blood of "Moses" (see the third section of this chapter) changed into Waikas, but they became extinct because they were so fierce. He also asserted that the Waikas were Yanomamö.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

361 The group then crossed the Orinoco for the third time and settled, sometime
578 around 1925 or 1930, at Patanowä. By this time their numbers had increased to such a
level that internal feuds were frequent. As the result of many fights, the group split into
two villages in about 1940, and eventually entered into hostilities. The part of the village
[101] that remained behind took the name Patanowä-teri and has remained to the present at
that site. Kaobawä's group fled to Shihota, but was driven from there to Kreiböwei by the
Patanowä-teri. They occupied this site in 1950–1951, when they were massacred during a
361 feast by the members of two Shamatari villages to their south. This led them to take
726 temporary refuge in the village of Mahekodo-teri on the Orinoco River, as they had
721 not had time to make a new garden. Their site at Kobou was established while they
628 lived with the Mahekodo-teri. It was only a vantage point from which they could estab-
[241] lish gardens in more suitable areas, areas that were too far removed from Mahekodo-teri
to permit the establishment of the gardens in a single move. Thus, Kobou was abandoned
after only a few years' occupation there.

361 Kaobawä's group split in the process of abandoning the Kobou garden in 1954,
621 a part of them taking the name Monou-teri. The Monou-teri still live at the site they
[721] established in 1954, but they were in the process of abandoning it in 1966 because of
[722] renewed raids from the Patanowä-teri. Kaobawä's group moved to the Orinoco again,
[101] to the site called Barauwä. By 1959 foreigners had finally reached this area, so Kaobawä
[648] and his followers moved down the Orinoco to the mouth of the Mavaca River to estab-
lish contact there with a government malaria post. They hoped to obtain steel tools from
the family of foreigners at the post. They split into two factions after settling, half of
[101] them moving to the opposite bank of the Mavaca River. Thus, Bisaasi-teri has an up-
stream and a downstream settlement, and the members of these two groups refer to them-
selves as the Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri, respectively, Bisaasi being the name of a grass
commonly found around gardens.

361 Similarly, the Shamatari villages, indicated as circles in Fig. 2–8, have a settlement
621 pattern characterized by internal village disputes leading to fissioning, gardens being
578 abandoned because of warfare, and a general movement to the south and west away
722 from the Orinoco headwaters. The history of the Shamatari villages is a little more
184 complicated than the history of Kaobawä's group, since village fissioning began much
earlier in their moves and produced many more villages. This was probably due to the
fact that their original location had more inhabitants. The history of the villages marked
as hexagons on the map, Fig. 2–8, is nearly identical in its over-all pattern to the above
two groups of villages.

361 Kaobawä's group and the two Shamatari villages of Momariböwei-teri and Reya-
[134] boböwei-teri (see Fig. 2–8) have, together, made some sixteen major moves during the
[648] past seventy-five years (Chagnon 1966, Chap. V). Only one of them was stimulated by
[722] poor soil conditions; one additional move was the result of the coming of foreigners. The
[578] remaining fourteen major moves resulted from either raids emanating from hostile neigh-
bors, or internal village feuds that led to bloodshed and caused a split in the local group.[9]
This should suffice to demonstrate that the political and military relationships between

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 44]

[9]This figure does not include the moves that took place while I lived with the Yanomamö. See Chapter 5 for a discussion of these.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

361 villages have a profound effect on the nature of the settlement pattern of Yąnomamö villages, and that this same milieu influences the rate at which larger villages fission into smaller, vulnerable groups.

*628 361 241 722 Finally, I emphasize the importance of cultivation in this pattern of village movement and relocation, particularly in the context of relying on allies. Twice during the history of Kąobawä's group they were obliged to take refuge in the village of an ally. All during my fieldwork the Monou-teri also relied on hospitality of this sort from Kąobawä's group, as they were beleaguered by raids from the Patanowä-teri and had not yet completed their new garden. In short, the fact that the Yąnomamö rely heavily on cultivated food has led to specific obligations between members of allied villages: a good ally is one who will take you in when you are driven from your gardens by enemy raids. The essence of political life, therefore, is to develop stable alliances with neighboring villages so as to create a social network that potentially allows a local group to rely for long periods of time on the gardens of neighboring villages. I will describe the politics of alliance formation in Chapter 4, as it intimately bound up with feasting, trading, and marriage.

Intellectual Environment

771 773 The comparative poverty of Yąnomamö material culture is more than compensated for by the richness and complexity of their theological concepts, myths, and legends.

One of the distinctive features of Yąnomamö cosmology and theology is the opportunity it provides for inventiveness. Individuals can and do modify concepts, embellish [184] them, improve on them and, in general, use their imaginations when trafficking in myths or concepts of the soul and afterlife. In short, there is room for thinkers in Yąnomamö culture.

The result of this is that many variants of the same basic myth can be found over a relatively small area. Indeed, each village will contain people who tell the myth a slightly different way; the basic elements remain the same each time, but personal views are interjected and reflect the idiosyncracies of the narrator. The Yąnomamö appear to enjoy these intellectual exercises, for in myth and cosmology they are able to demonstrate their personal abilities as users of their language, the true language of man.

772 THE COSMOS The Yąnomamö conceive of the external world as having an origin, boundaries, supernatural beings, and a specific nature.

The cosmos is comprised of four parallel layers, lying horizontally and located one on top of the other (see Fig. 2-4b). They are like inverted platters: gently curved, thin, circular, rigid, and having two surfaces, top and bottom.

The uppermost layer is the "tender" plane: *duhu hä misi*. At the present time, it is "empty" or "void" (*brahu*), but some things had their origins there in the distant past. These moved down to other layers. Today, the uppermost layer is sometimes described as being "an old woman" (*mo fata*), a phrase used to describe an abandoned garden or a female who is no longer capable of producing offspring. This layer does not figure prominently in the everyday life of the Yąnomamö; it is merely something that is there and once had a function.